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THE ROYAL HOUSE OF STUART

VOL. II.

ENGRAVED BY PAUL NAUMANN.

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.
1545 – 1567.
Orkney Portrait.

From the collection at Dunrobin Castle by the Special permission of his Grace the Duke of Sutherland.

THE ROYAL HOUSE OF STUART; FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF HANOVER

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BY

SAMUEL COWAN, J.P.

Author of "Mary Queen of Scots," "The Ancient Capital of Scotland," etc., etc.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

LONDON

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THE ROYAL HOUSE OF STUART

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REIGN OF JAMES VI.

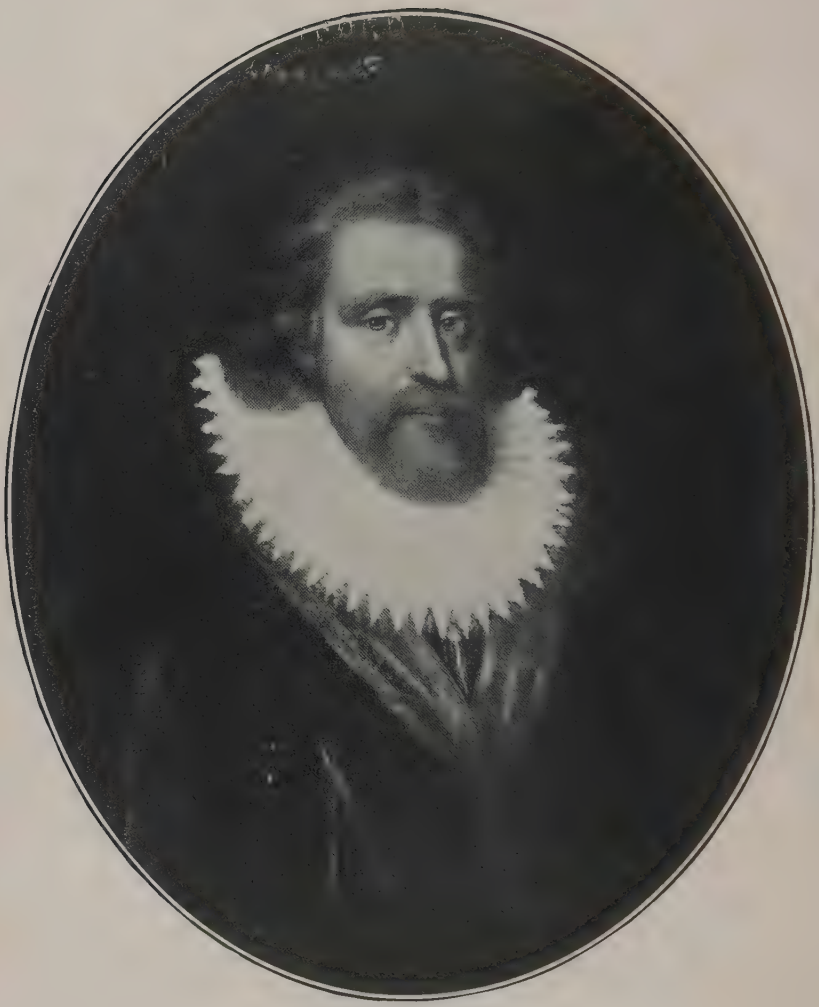
A.D. 1567—1625.

ARGYLL discovered that treachery was the cause of his defeat at Glenlivet. Some of the Campbells had been tampering with Huntly with the ultimate object of assassinating Argyll, so that Lochnell might get the earldom, and the estates be divided among the conspirators. This plot was connected, it is said, with that for the murder of the Earl of Moray, and those implicated in it were Maitland the Chancellor, Huntly, Campbell of Glenorchy, Campbell of Lochnell, Campbell of Ardkinlas, and Lord Maxwell. In addition to Argyll the bond provided for the death of John Campbell of Cawdor. Argyll discovered this

plot in time, assembled his vassals, hurried to the North, and proclaimed a war of extermination against Huntly and all who had opposed him at Glenlivet. Mar joined Argyll. This state of matters roused the clergy, who thought the Catholics were again to be uppermost, and according to the historian Calderwood, "ministers of religion were murdered, fathers slain by their own sons, brothers by their brethren, married women ravished under their own roof, houses with their inmates burned amidst savage mirth, and the land wasted by fire, plunder, and the cessation of agricultural labour." This picture is very probably exaggerated. In the midst of these troubles the King called a convention of his nobles in January, 1595, when he found it impossible to restore peace without vigorous proceedings. He thereupon imprisoned Atholl, Argyll, Lovat, Glenorchy, Tullibardine and others, until they had made redress for the excesses committed by their clansmen. As for the Catholic earls and Bothwell, they were reduced to great straits; they were pursued by the King's troops, and endeavoured to escape to the Continent. Bothwell was seized, but turning King's evidence, he saved his life. On 17th March Errol embarked at Peterhead, and two days later Huntly, with his uncle and sixteen persons, took ship at Aberdeen for Denmark. Bothwell was found in destitution skulking near Perth, and was next heard of at Orkney, and subsequently at Paris.

Early in 1596 a convention of the General Assembly was held in Edinburgh, at which the King was present, and delivered a speech in favour of the Protestant ministers, and in favour of planting kirks and augmenting the stipends so far as the consent of the nobility could be obtained. This speech gave the clergy great satisfaction, and they reminded the King that he had still to drive out of the country "divers Jesuits and excommunicated Papists."

In April, 1596, William Armstrong (Kinmont Willie), a retainer of Scott of Buccleuch, but a noted freebooter, had been attending a Warden's Court held by the English



JAMES VI.
King of Scotland.

(*By Van Somers.*)
(*From the Drummond Castle Collection.*)
(*Photo, Doig, Wilson & Wheatley.*)

To face p. 1

and Scots Deputy-Wardens at the rivulet which divides the two countries when he was suddenly captured by the English, tied to a horse and carried to Carlisle Castle, when Scrope, the Governor, put him, heavily ironed, into the common prison. Buccleuch demanded his instant release.

On a very dark night, in the midst of heavy rain, Scott assembled 200 of his followers and silently led 80 of them (noted freebooters), with ladders and iron tools, and all fully armed, to the wall of the outer court of the castle. They made a breach in the wall enough for a soldier to squeeze through. In this way a dozen, including Buccleuch, got through, passed into the outer court, disarmed the watch, wrenched open the gate from the inside and admitted their companions; 24 troopers rushed in and went to the gaol where the prisoner was, forced the door of his chamber, where Kinmont was confined, and carried him off in his irons. The alarm bell was rung and Scrope, believing that 500 Scots were in possession of the castle, kept within his chamber. Buccleuch, for this bold adventure, was called up before Elizabeth and asked by her how he had dared to storm her castle, to which he replied: "What is there, Madam, that a brave man may not dare?" This rejoinder pleased her immensely, and turning to her courtiers, she exclaimed: "Give me a thousand such leaders and I'll shake any throne in Europe." About this period, or on 19th August, 1596, the Princess Elizabeth, afterwards Queen of Bohemia, was born at Falkland Palace.

This brilliant exploit, one of the bravest feats of border warfare, was afterwards made the subject of a ballad. The freebooter, in swimming his horse through the Eden, which was then flooded, was cumbered by the irons round his ankles. Buccleuch, anxious to rid him of these, halted at the first smith's shop they came to, but the door was locked and the smith in bed. He was so sound a sleeper that he was only wakened by Buccleuch thrusting his long spear through the

window, and nearly spitting both Vulcan and his lady.[1]

Between the Maxwells and Johnstones there had long been a deadly feud which had been temporarily adjusted. Maxwell, who was Warden of the West Marches, again quarrelled with some of the Johnstones in his official capacity. The two forces met at Dryfe sands, near Lockerbie, when the Johnstones gained a decisive victory. Before the battle both chieftains had offered a reward for the head or hand of the other. The prize fell to Johnstone—the hand of Maxwell being severed as he held it out for quarter, and his head carried off by the victor. This victory was a great blow to the Catholic party.

After this event, we are informed that the relations between the King and the Queen were not very satisfactory; the King was too intimate with the Earl of Morton's daughter, and the Queen was too intimate with the Duke of Lennox; and the correspondence of the period attempts to throw doubt on the King being the father of Prince Henry. We don't think these slanders are anything more than the merest Court gossip, as they are wholly unsupported by proof. The estrangement, however, was an open secret, and the fact that Mar, by the King's command, had the custody of the infant Prince, rather widened the breach than otherwise. The King had been foolish enough to say that "were he on his death-bed his last sign should be that Mar should have the boy." The Queen, recognising that this was a reflection on herself, became disheartened and took to bed, and pretended a mortal illness. The King, who was at Falkland, declared it to be a trick. A jury of matrons sat upon her malady, and called it no counterfeit. The King thereupon hurried from Falkland, and was told at Holyrood that Buccleuch and Cessford had been with her—two men whom he greatly disliked—but they disappeared before his arrival.[2] A reconciliation, it is said, half stormy, half affectionate,

[1] and [2] Tytler.

took place between the King and the Queen. She demanded the custody of the Prince, while he upbraided her for leaguing with such men as Buccleuch and Cessford, who were plotting to restrain his person, seize the heir to the throne, and to arraign Mar, the governor, for high treason. After this interview the King returned to Falkland. It would appear that Sir John Maitland, the Chancellor (brother of Maitland of Lethington), created dissension between the King and Queen. The situation is best explained in the Queen's own words to Bowes, the ambassador: "He acted with great baseness both towards me and towards the King; it was he who first moved me to get the Prince out of Mar's hands; it was he who animated the King against me; it was he who dealt so between the King and myself, and with the persons interested therein, that the seizure of the King was plotted, and would have taken place at his coming to Edinburgh, but I discovered the conspiracy and warned him. Had he come he would have been captured, and would have remained in captivity." The Queen, in these words, correctly represented the situation.

In 1596 the King was financially almost in a state of bankruptcy, because of extravagant expenditure by himself and the Queen. Glamis, Seton, and Douglas, Provost of Lincluden, were dismissed from their offices of state and a council of eight appointed to look after the Crown revenues and expenditure. These were known as the Octavians. It was decreed that no alienation of revenue or property of the Crown, no grant of pension, nor order on the treasury, even though signed by the King, should be valid unless countersigned by five of the council. This council held their commission directly from the King, and met daily in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh. They had no salary, but eventually they became powerful and controlled the patronage of the State. Their term of office was short. They quarrelled among themselves, and in 1599 resigned office, when another set of counsellors took their place. Financial matters did not improve, nor was it possible for them

to improve. The King's profuse habits, his lavish gratuities to favourites, and the extravagance of the Queen, kept the exchequer in a state of chronic poverty.

The same year there was great trouble between the Protestants on the one side, and the King and his Court on the other. The King, according to the clergy, was encouraging Papacy and not conforming to the laws of the Kirk. The capital was in a state of riot, and the clergy kept up the excitement by revolutionary speeches. They attacked the King in their sermons, accused him of persecution, and an enemy of all godliness. He declared it was his intention to maintain religion and the discipline of the Church, as established by law, notwithstanding any opinion which might be expressed by the clergy. In August, Andrew Melville, Patrick Galloway and James Nicholson visited the King at Falkland in the midst of these religious disturbances. Melville, addressing him, said: "There are two kings and two kingdoms in Scotland: there is Christ Jesus the King, and His kingdom, the Kirk, whose subject King James VI. is; and of whose kingdom not a king, nor a lord, nor a head, but a member. And they whom Christ has called and commanded to watch over the Kirk and govern His spiritual kingdom have sufficient power of Him and authority so to do, both together and severally; the which no Christian king nor prince should control and discharge, but fortify and assist, otherwise they are not faithful subjects nor members of Christ."[1] It was thereupon arranged by the clergy that the pulpits should open upon the King with a general discharge like a broadside in a sea fight.[2] David Black, minister of St. Andrews, attacked Elizabeth as well as James. He denounced her as an atheist. The English ambassador demanded an explanation, seeing that a subject of a power in close alliance with England had so spoken of his sovereign. Black was cited before the King in council on 18th November; evidence was led, when he was convicted and ordered to be imprisoned.

[1] Melville's Diary. [2] Hill Burton.

The King announced that the capital was no longer a fit place for his residence, and he removed the Court to Linlithgow, issuing a proclamation: "Seeing that by persuasion of the ministers a multitude of the citizens had treasonably put themselves in arms, intending to bereave the King and council of their lives, did think the said town (Edinburgh) an unfit place for the administration of justice; and therefore the King ordains the lords of session, sheriffs, commissaries and justices, to remove themselves furth of the town of Edinburgh, into such place as shall be appointed."

This proclamation had good results, for the King, on 1st January, 1597, returned to the capital, everything being quiet and peaceful, when the provost and magistrates delivered the keys of the city on their knees to the King, expressed their deep regret for the late tumult of which they declared they were innocent. He declined to accept their submission, declared the tumult to be treason, and ordered the provost and magistrates to be imprisoned in the Tolbooth of Perth as a punishment for their conduct, and to remain there until acquitted or found guilty of the late uproar. This conduct of the King was regarded by the clergy as Episcopacy. His triumph over the clergy, the vigour with which he had brought the bishops into Parliament and compelled his nobles to renounce their blood feuds, seems to have persuaded him that his will and prerogative were to bear down all before them. At the same time the magistrates of Edinburgh had arrested an offender; he was rescued by a servant of the King. The magistrates prosecuted the rescuer and compelled him to give assurance that he would deliver the original culprit, but he failed in his promise, and the civic authorities seized him and sent him to prison. The King interfered, and commanded his servant to be set free, but the magistrates refused. The King sent another message; it was met by a formal reply. The magistrates declared that they were ready to resign their office; so long, however, as they kept it, they would do their duty.

The King was much enraged, but cooled down and pocketed the affront.[1] Shortly after this a judgment was given in the Court of Session in favour of Robert Bruce, who had been deprived of his stipend by the King. Bruce had sued the Crown. The King appealed, came personally to the court and pleaded his own cause, and commanded the judges to vote against Bruce. Sir Alexander Seton, the president, rose and addressed the King as follows:—"My liege, you are our king, we your subjects, bound and ready to obey you from the heart, and with all devotion to serve you with our lives and substance; but this is a matter of law, on which we are sworn to do justice according to our conscience and the statutes of the realm. Your Majesty may indeed command us to the contrary, in which case I and every honest man on this bench will either vote according to conscience, or resign, and not vote at all." Thereafter the judges, with two dissentient voices, pronounced their decision in favour of Bruce and against the Crown, for which the King was unprepared, and in indignation he instantly left the court. The attitude of Seton was noble and courageous.

During the summer and autumn of 1597 James was busily employed with the trial of witches and an expedition to the borders. Fourteen of the most notorious offenders were taken and executed; thirty-six of the principal barons who had encouraged their outrages were seized and brought prisoners to the capital. Parliament then assembled, when the King dwelt on the wrongs he had received in the execution of his mother, and the unjust imputations of Elizabeth, who accused him of exciting Poland and Denmark against her, and fostering rebellion in Ireland; and the attempt made in the English Parliament to defeat his title to the crown of England.

When Sir William Bowes arrived in Edinburgh in May, 1599, he found James engaged writing his "Basilicon Doron."

[1] Tytler.

In June following, Sir Edmond Ashfield, an Englishman, was, on the recommendation of Lord Willoughby, sent from Berwick to Edinburgh to the Court of James as a confidential agent for secret information. Lord Willoughby afterwards thought he was a suspicious character, and might do mischief in Scotland, and Bowes had the impression that treachery against England was intended. It was agreed to kidnap Ashfield. Accordingly John Guevara, Deputy-Warden of the East Marches, with three assistants, had the ambassador's coach in waiting one day on Leith sands. Ashfield, under pretence of a pleasure drive, was inveigled into it, and instead of being driven to Edinburgh, was carried off to Berwick and put under restraint. James wrote a dignified remonstrance to Willoughby, asking an explanation of this proceeding, and if it was by Elizabeth's authority, as he would not pass it over. Willoughby replied that he did it in the discharge of his public duty. Sir William Bowes, Elizabeth's ambassador in Scotland, was recalled.

In 1599 the King's extravagant expenditure of money came to a climax. His Treasurer was obliged to remonstrate with him. Money, he said, was required for the King's whole movables and silver-work, all worn and consumed, for all departments, and for all districts of the kingdom. There were no funds to pay the Ambassador in England, nor for secret intelligence, nor for the support of public officers at home, nor for the Wardens of the West Marches, etc. It was in vain to look to England, as Elizabeth advised him that from 1592 to 1599 she had advanced him £26,000. The result was that the office of Lord Treasurer, and other offices of State, were going a-begging. It is conjectured that after this appeal he contracted a loan from the Earl of Gowrie. The baptism of the infant Princess took place at this date, and it is said the expense was defrayed out of the pockets of the lords of the bedchamber.[1] We may give an illustration of the

[1]Nicholson to Cecil, 15th April, 1599.

King's reckless way of dealing with money. On one occasion, in the gallery of Whitehall some servants happened to pass through bearing a large sum of money—£3,000—which they were conveying to the Privy Purse. The King, observing the servants whispering to one another, and ascertaining from one of his attendants, Henry Rich, that the subject of conversation was an incidental wish that Rich had expressed that he could appropriate the gold to his own use; the King immediately ordered it to be conveyed to Rich's lodgings, remarking that it afforded him more pleasure in bestowing the money than Rich could receive in accepting it.[1] At the marriage of Sir John Ramsay (Viscount Haddington of the Gowrie Conspiracy) with Lady Elizabeth Ratcliffe, he paid Ramsay's debts, amounting to £10,000, though he had already given him £1,000 per annum in land, and sent the bride a gold cup in which was a patent containing a grant of lands of £600 a year.[2] From the abstract of his revenue we find that his presents at different times in money to Lord Dunbar amounted to £15,000; to the Earl of Mar, £15,500; to Viscount Haddington, £31,000.[3] The King in 1603 produced the "Basilicon Doron," which has been called an attack on the Presbyterian form of Church government. "The severe and sweeping censure pronounced upon the Scottish Reformation as the offspring of popular tumult and rebellion plainly indicated the author's leaning to prelacy and popery." The book, which went through three editions, was highly praised in England, but was received by the Scottish clergy with feelings of indignation. A general fast was proclaimed on one occasion by the clergy to avert by prayer and humiliation the judgment so likely to fall on an apostate king and a miserable country.[4] The King, who wrote a volume on Demonology and

[1] England under the Stuarts.
[2] Lodge's Illustrations.
[3] Lingard's History of England.
[4] Sir W. Bowes to Cecil, 25th June, 1599.

Witchcraft, attempted a translation of the Psalms, but it fell through.

This condition of matters induced the King to show himself in a new colour to the no small astonishment of the people. He resolved he would make friends with the Pope, and probably get some money out of the Catholics. This showed him to be destitute of all principle. He wrote a letter to Pope Clement VIII., in which, after many expressions of regard, he promised to treat the Catholics with greater indulgence, professed a desire to have a resident minister at the Court of Rome, and named a certain Bishop Drummond, who, in his opinion, should be appointed Cardinal. It so happened that the Master of Gray, who was in Italy at this period acting as a spy for the English Court, had procured a copy of this letter and sent it to Elizabeth. She instantly sent an ambassador to Scotland to inquire fully into the matter and to reproach James for his inconsistent conduct. James heard the accusation with astonishment, denied all knowledge of the letter, and pronounced the whole story a vile calumny. His secretary, Elphinstone, afterwards admitted that he (Elphinstone) wrote the letter unknown to the King, and for that he was condemned to be executed, but the Queen interposed and saved his life.[1] This did not clear up the matter by any means. It was said that Elphinstone, to save his master's honour, had sacrificed his own.[2] It is certain, the historian says, that, with a view to the English succession, James was at this time labouring to gain the confidence of the Catholics, and in this way incurred the suspicion of Elizabeth.

Episcopacy was established by a General Assembly held at Montrose on 28th March, 1600. It was decided that the King should choose each bishop for every vacancy out of a leet of six selected by the Kirk.

That notable event in Scottish history, the Gowrie

[1] Spottiswoode. [2] Calderwood.

Conspiracy, which culminated in the assassination of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother, Alexander Ruthven, has never been clearly understood by posterity, and probably never will. Modern research rather indicates that the King was the conspirator, and the object to get quit of a heavy financial obligation due to Gowrie by the King. The event occurred on 5th August, 1600, and being already fully recorded, it is unnecessary to do more than make a brief recital.[1] The official narrative, written by the King — the only record we possess — is not generally accepted as *bonâ fide;* and there is no record whatever from the Ruthvens. Unlike the lawless nobles of that period, young Gowrie and his brother were law-abiding subjects, while there is absolutely nothing recorded against them in the history of the time, a fact that must ever leave us in doubt as to their connection with this formidable plot. On that eventful day the King and several of his nobles dined with Gowrie at Gowrie House. After dinner Alexander Ruthven conducted the King to the turret chamber, where some conversation is alleged to have taken place between them, after which Ruthven seized the King by the wrists and attempted to bind him with a garter which he had in his hand. The King dragged Ruthven to the open window of the apartment, and called out to the spectators: "Treason! Help! I am murdered!" Some of the nobles from the outside saw the King's face, with a hand grasping his throat. They rushed up the "black turnpike," or back stair, forced open the door of the turret chamber, when Sir John Ramsay, who was the first to enter, struck Ruthven with his dagger, and stabbed him twice on the lower part of the body. Gowrie and his servants, who rushed upstairs with drawn swords, seeing the bleeding body of his brother, swore that the traitors who murdered him should die. The King had gone out to the adjoining

[1] *See* the Author's work, "Gowrie Conspiracy": London: Sampson Low & Co.

room. Gowrie was told the King was dead, at which he stood aghast: "Waes me! has the King been slain in my house?" He had no sooner uttered the words when Ramsay, before Gowrie could defend himself, struck him down with his sword and killed him on the spot. After all was over, the King knelt in company with his nobles and thanked God for his deliverance. All this is given in the official narrative. In the consideration of this extraordinary event, the first suspicious circumstance that is noticeable is the conversation in the turret chamber. If Gowrie was the conspirator, Ruthven would have slain the King at once when he had him in his power. There was no need for the silly conversation which is recorded. At such a critical moment a conspirator, in the circumstances, was more likely to use his sword than his tongue. We have no means of knowing what took place in the chamber if we put aside the so-called official version. Ruthven was a youth of nineteen years of age; the King was in his thirty-fourth year, and was a much stronger man than Ruthven. Had the latter been a conspirator, he would never have gone to the turret chamber alone to assassinate the King. The fact that the King dragged him to the open window is rather a proof of Ruthven's being the victim. It is also noticeable that the King's conduct after the event is not reassuring.

The inhabitants of Perth would not believe his statement that the conspiracy was the act of Gowrie; and to such an extent did this feeling prevail that he had to remain in Gowrie House on the fatal day till it was dark, and then depart clandestinely with his escort to Falkland in order to save his life. This, it will be observed, seems inconsistent with Gowrie being the conspirator; and what is the explanation of 500 armed men being there on behalf of the King, whereas Gowrie had nobody? The King made a bold effort to pacify the people of Perth by granting them charters and other privileges; visiting Perth on various occasions;

eventually becoming a burgess. The question, of course, remains: What was the King's object in committing this crime, if he did commit it? We must remember that he was a man of a very jealous nature, and could not bear a rival to his popularity. He was not a scholar, while his manners were rude, brusque and unrefined, and this was not the first conspiracy that the King had been connected with. Gowrie, on the other hand, was a scholar, educated at Padua, a famous seat of learning at that period, and was one of the most accomplished men of that age. He was a favourite at the Court of England, a general favourite in Scotland, and a popular chief magistrate of Perth. In nothing did he resemble his rebellious father. If the King was an innocent man, why did he execute, after a mock trial, the three servants of Gowrie—Granston, Craigengelt and MacGregor—all of whom were eye-witnesses of the event? Evidently he was determined to remove every person who could give evidence in Gowrie's favour. The testimony of these men would have settled the question of his guilt or innocence. The correspondence at this date of Nicholson, Elizabeth's envoy in Scotland, with Sir Robert Cecil is of considerable importance. He says, unless the King bring the conspirators to the scaffold the people will form dangerous opinions. They will believe him guilty and Gowrie innocent. He also says that the clergy were not at all convinced of the *bonâ fides* of the King's narrative. Nicholson, though he makes no comment, makes it clear to Cecil what he means. "The matter is believed to be otherwise than the King reports it; all parts of the country, so far as I can learn, are in great suspicion at the King's narrative." The Rev. Robert Bruce and the Edinburgh clergy positively refused to thank God for the King's deliverance, as they did not believe Gowrie was the conspirator, and they therefore refused to pray for the King from their pulpits. They preferred to encounter his utmost vengeance to implicating themselves in what they conscientiously believed to be an infamous act.

Eventually, to save imprisonment, and perhaps to save their lives, they all recanted except Bruce. He absolutely refused, and would take the consequences rather than perjure himself. Bruce was the second son of Sir Alexander Bruce of Airth, and Janet, daughter of Alexander, fifth Lord Livingstone. He became a warm and trusted friend of King James, and was made a member of the Privy Council. When the King, in 1589, went to Denmark to get married Bruce was one of the guardians of the realm till the King's return. At the coronation of the Queen he had the honour of anointing the Queen and placing the crown on her head, which was considered a great triumph of the Presbyterian Church over the titular bishops. It is said that Bruce exercised greater influence in Edinburgh than the King. He was the leader of the Presbyterians in Scotland; his opinion was therefore a matter of great importance to the King. It is said by a modern writer that the whole affair (the conspiracy) was a conspiracy by the King to rid himself of two men whom he had reason to hate. On the 5th November, 1600, Bruce went to Dieppe, where he remained for a considerable time. We next hear of him when the King succeeded to the English crown; he was then in Edinburgh. In 1605 he was deposed by the King's authority and imprisoned at Inverness, where he was confined for eight years. In 1613 he was allowed to return to Kinnaird, the house of his youth, but was not permitted to leave that place. Being an influential and powerful man, his movements were watched by the Episcopal clergy. Some years afterwards, or in 1621, when the Five Articles of Perth were being discussed, he could not restrain his curiosity, and he visited Edinburgh. The Episcopal ministers complained to the King, and Bruce was again sent to Inverness gaol to endure further misery. The King never forgave him for his scepticism of the Gowrie Conspiracy. He remained in Inverness prison till the death of the King in 1625, when he was released. He preached without authority in several of the churches in

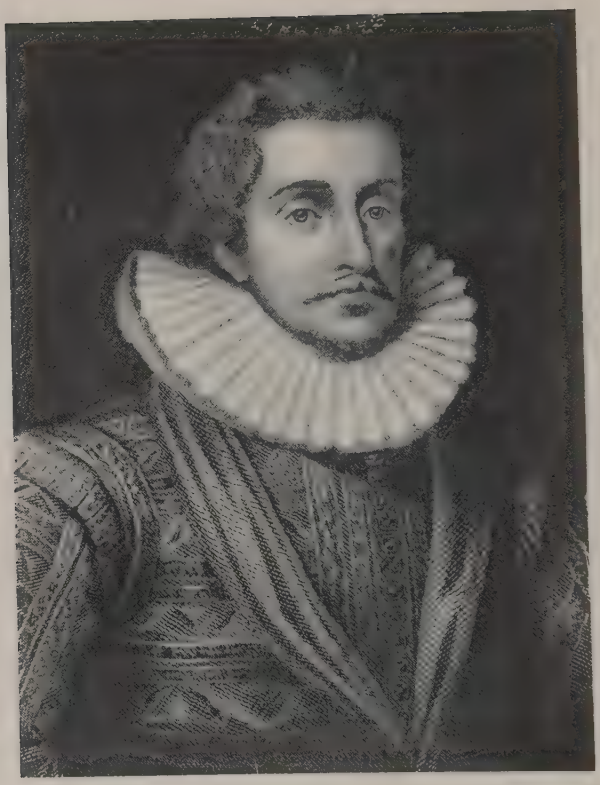
and around Edinburgh, and finally he went to Larbert and preached there regularly, that place having neither minister nor stipend. On 13th August, 1631, he expired in the midst of his family just after he had uttered the words: "Now God be with you, my children; I have breakfasted with you, and shall sup to-night with the Lord Jesus Christ." He was interred at Larbert, and his funeral was attended by upwards of 4,000 persons from all parts of the country, a testimony of his high position in the estimation of the people.

On 1st November, 1600, the posthumous trial of the Earl of Gowrie and his brother took place in Edinburgh. Their bodies were transmitted from Perth and placed at the bar—an appalling spectacle. On the 15th November sentence was pronounced that the name, memory and dignity of Gowrie and his brother be extinguished, their arms cancelled, their possessions confiscated to the King for ever; their bodies to be carried to the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, and there hanged, drawn and quartered, and thereafter affixed to the most public places of Edinburgh, Perth, Dundee and Stirling. And so this infamous tragedy was brought to a conclusion, and cannot but be regarded as the most disgraceful event which marks the reign of James VI.

As a specimen of many similar incidents which occurred at that period it is recorded that on 7th February, 1603, four hundred of the Macgregors, and some others burst into the Lennox district, and after a desperate struggle, in which about eighty of the Lennox men fell, made off with 600 cattle, 800 sheep, 280 horses, and such other booty as they could transport. James pursued the Macgregors with relentless hostility, and it is recorded, never forgave them for this outrage.[1]

The next outstanding event in his administration was the death of Queen Elizabeth at the close of March, 1603, an event that he had long been waiting for, as the English crown was the summit of his ambition, and his financial troubles would be at an

[1] Calderwood.



JAMES VI
King of Scotland.

(From a Portrait by Van Somers.)

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end. Before her death she nominated James to succeed her, and on 5th April, surrounded by a large and brilliant cavalcade of English and Scottish noblemen and gentlemen, he joyously took his departure from Edinburgh to London, in order to enter on duty as King of England. This event culminated in the union of the crowns, and was one of the greatest epochs in the history of the country. It was then that Scotland and Ireland became parts of the realm of England, afterwards the British Empire. Scotland retained her own constitution and laws; and her tribunals and Parliaments were independent of Westminster. James's English administration was a failure —in short, his reign was anything but congenial to the English people. One thing they abhorred was his weakness for ecclesiastical discussions, to the exclusion of other and more important matters affecting the welfare and prosperity of the realm. There could not have been a greater contrast between two persons than between Elizabeth and James, and while the English people neither loved the one nor the other, it must be said of Elizabeth that she could govern, but James could not. James on his way to London issued the following proclamation to the English people in view of Queen Elizabeth's death:—

Whereas by the Almighty Providence of God, to our great sorrow and grief, our dearest sister of famous memory, Elizabeth, late Queen of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, is departed this mortal life. By whose death all offices, charges and jurisdictions are ceased and expired, within the whole bounds of her dominions; and the righteous inheritance of her Imperial crown is established in our person as sole heir thereof; not only by virtue of our undoubted birthright and her declaration before her decease, but also by the willing approbation of the Lords spiritual and temporal, and whole body of the said realm. Testifying by their proclamations of our

undoubted right, so doth it belong to our princely care to give some timely remedy, as all offices and charges so wisely planted by the late Queen, and worthily exercised by such as possessed the same, be no longer destitute of careful and sufficient ministers, able to administer justice, and punish and repress all insolences which such an alteration might stir up in unruly persons. It is our will that the high sheriffs, justices of the peace, and mayors, sheriffs, aldermen, constables, head burghs and other officers whatsoever, great or small, use, exercise and discharge the offices in the same manner and form as they did before her decease; conforming all privileges, grants to any officers in general, or in special by her; to stand in such full strength, sort and value, as they were of before, till such time as our further resolution to be taken by us with the advice of our council of London be published. Given at Berwick the eighth of April; of our reign the first year.

JAMES R.

Before taking her departure for London the Queen proceeded to Stirling to bring with her the young Prince, her son, who was there, in the keeping of the Countess of Mar, while her husband was at Court. The Countess refused to part with the child without the authority of the King, and the Queen became so exasperated that she fell seriously ill and gave premature birth to a child at Stirling on the 10th May. On the 12th the Earl of Mar arrived with a message from the King, but the Queen refused to see him, and requested the letters from the King, of which Mar was the bearer. These Mar refused to deliver up unless at a personal interview. Both parties were obstinate, and both wrote the King desiring his pleasure as to this unseemly contest. The King despatched Lennox to Stirling with orders to bring with him to London both the Queen and the Prince. On the Queen's arrival there a stormy interview, it is said, took place between her and the King. She refused to be reconciled to Mar, but at

ANNE OF DENMARK.
Queen of Scotland. Wife of James VI.

(From the Portrait by Van Somers at Hampton Court.)
(By permission of George Bell & Sons.

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the instigation of the Privy Council, she saw him before the coronation.

Three months afterwards the auspicious ceremony of the coronation of James and his consort, Queen Anne took place at Westminster Abbey on the 25th July and is detailed at length in the Harleian MSS. The Archbishop of Canterbury officiated. The King and Queen having taken their places, the people were required to acknowledge their allegiance, after which the King and Queen descended from the throne, and going to the altar, there offered the King a paule and a pound of gold, the Queen offering likewise.* The sermon was by the bishop of Winchester, after which the coronation oath was administered by the Archbishop. Then was sung the anthem, "Come, Holy Ghost."* The Archbishop anointed the King and invested him with the robes of King Edward the Confessor, viz., the tunic, the Royal hosen, sandals, spurs. The sword was delivered by the Archbishop, and girt about him by a peer; a ring was put on the third finger of the left hand, after which the King went to the altar and offered there his sword, which, being offered, one of the peers having redeemed it drew it and held it so drawn before His Majesty. The sceptre was then delivered, also a rod with a dove to be borne in the King's left hand.* The King was enthroned by the Archbishop, after which the peers did homage, all touching the crown on the King's head as promising for ever to support it. The Queen then came to the steps of the altar and knelt down.* She was anointed by the Archbishop, who put on the Queen's ring on the fourth finger of her left hand.* He then put the crown on the Queen's head, and the sceptre and rod in her right hand, the ivory rod and dove into her left. She was then led to the throne on the left hand of the King, and enthroned there, after which the Archbishop celebrated the Communion and repeated the Nicene Creed. The King and Queen returned to the chapel of Edward the Confessor, where

* Then a prayer offered by the Archbishop.

they disrobed, after which the Archbishop put on their Majesties' heads the Imperial crown which they were instructed to wear, and the proceedings terminated with the benediction.

The union of the crowns gave rise to a debate in the English Parliament as to what should be the name of the new kingdom. "Great Britain" was suggested, and James takes credit for the suggestion. The English did not regard the new name with favour, but they tacitly agreed to it, and thereafter, in 1604, the King issued a proclamation to the effect that "as our Imperial monarchy of these two kingdoms doth comprehend the whole island, so it shall keep in all ensuing ages the united denomination of the invincible monarchy of Great Britain; and therefore, by the force of our Royal prerogative, we assume to ourselves the style and title of King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, as our just and lawful style, to be used in all proclamations, treaties, leagues, etc., and all cases of the like nature in time coming; discharging and discontinuing the names of Scotland and England to be expressed in legal proceedings, instruments, and assurances of particular parties,"

Under date 1st May, 1604, King James wrote the following characteristic letter respecting the union of the crowns, to the House of Commons:—

You see with what clearness and sincerity I have behaved myself in this matter, even through all the progress thereof, though I will not say too little regarded by you, but I may justly say not so willingly embraced by you as the importance of the matter deserves; I protest to God, the fruits thereof will chiefly tend to your own weal and prosperity, and increase of strength and greatness. Nothing can stay you from hearkening to it but jealousy and distrust, either of me, the propounder, or of the matter by me propounded; if of me, then ye both do me and yourselves an infinite wrong, my conscience bearing me witness that I never deserved the contrary

at your hands. But if your distrust be of the matter itself, then distrust you nothing, but your own wisdom or honesty; for as I have given over wrangling upon words with you, so crave I no conclusion to be taken at this time, but only a commission that it may be disputed, considered, and reported to you; and then will ye be your own cooks to dress it as ye list; so that as I have already said, since the conclusion can never be without your own assent if ye be true to yourselves; no man can deceive you in it. Let not yourselves, therefore, be transported with the curiosity of a few giddy heads, for it lies with you now to make the choice, either by yielding to the providence of God and embracing that which He hath cast in your mouths, to procure the prosperity and increase of greatness to me and mine, you and yours, and in the removal of that partition-wall which already, by God's providence, in my blood is rent asunder, to establish my throne and your body politic in a perpetual and flourishing peace; or else contemning God's benefits freely offered to us, to spit and blaspheme in His face, by preferring war to peace, trouble to quietness, hatred to love, weakness to greatness, and division to union; to sow the seeds of discord to our posterity, to dishonour your King, to make both me and yourselves a proverb of reproach in the mouths of strangers and enemies to this nation, and enviers of my greatness. Our next work is to take up new garrisons for the borders, and to make new fortifications there, *sed meliora spero.* I hope that God, in this choice of yours, will not suffer you, with old Adam, to choose the worst, and so procure the defacing of this earthly Paradise. But by the contrary that He shall inspire you so as with the second Adam ye shall create peace, and so beautify this our earthly kingdom as it may represent and be, an earnest penny unto us, of eternal peace, in that spiritual kingdom which is prepared for the perpetual residence of all His chosen children.

JAMES R.[1]

[1] This is a specimen of the King's composition.

On 31st July, 1604, the King was badly in want of £20, a mysterious circumstance, and he sent the following weak-minded and pedantic communication, appealing for the loan to his friend, Squire William Farringdon :

Trusty and well-beloved ; although there be nothing more against our mind than to be driven into any cause that may give our subjects the least doubt of our unwillingness to throw any burden upon them, having already published by speeches and writings our desire to avoid it ; yet such is our state at this time in regard to great and urgent causes fallen, and growing daily upon us and not to be escaped. As we shall be forced presently to disburse greater sums of money than it is possible for us to provide, by ordinary means, or to want without great peril and prejudice. No man, even of indifferent judgment, can either plead ignorance how much we found the Crown exhausted by the accidents of foreign wars and inward rebellion ; or on the other hand, doth not observe the visible causes of our daily expenses ever since we came into this kingdom. We think it needless to use any more arguments from such a King to his subjects. But that as our necessity is the only cause of our request, so your love and duty must be the chief motive of your ready performance of the same. To which we may further add one thing, which is no less notorious to the realm, that since we came to this estate, no means or extraordinary help has been offered us, notwithstanding more extraordinary occasions of large expense, one falling on the neck of another, without time or respiration, than ever lighted upon any King of this realm. A matter whereof we make not mention as proceeding from the coldness of our people's affections, of whose service and fidelity we have had so clear proof. You shall therefore understand that in this consideration, and in respect of our opinion of your good mind toward us, notwithstanding the omission in the former time to repay some loan because of unexpected violent necessity, which might make a doubtful-

ness what promise should be kept. We have persuaded ourselves that you will no way measure our princely resolution by the preceding accidents, nor ever doubt us when we engage our word, yet never broken, to any which now we do hereby give for repayment of whatever the Privy Seal shall assure you. That which we now require is that within twelve days of the receipt hereof you will cause the sum of £20 to be delivered to James Anderson, Esq., who is our collector in the county of Lancaster—the loan to be until the 24th March, 1605. For assurance whereof we have directed these our letters to you which, with the hand of our collector acknowledging receipt of £20, shall bind us, our heirs and successors, for repayment thereof. Given under our Privy Seal at our Palace of Westminster, 31st July, 1604.

James was two and a half years in England when a number of lawless men (Catholics) negotiated a large scheme to blow up the King and the House of Lords. This was the famous Gunpowder Plot. It was an atrocious, revolutionary plot, devised by a few Catholics to blow up the King, Lords and Commons, on the meeting of Parliament, 5th November, 1605. The King had exercised great severities against the Catholics by denying them toleration and confiscating their property. This plot was championed by Robert Catesby, and he enlisted in the scheme Guy Fawkes as his agent. Several others, said to be about eighty Catholics, were connected with the plot. It was part of the scheme to murder the Duke of York, Charles I., and seize the Princess Elizabeth and proclaim her Queen. The gunpowder consisted of thirty-six barrels, which for the purpose of the explosion were carefully arranged in a cellar under the House of Lords. Everything having been deliberately completed for the execution of the diabolical deed, Fawkes was told off by his *confrères* to set fire to the gunpowder, after which he was to escape to Flanders. Catholics were

warned not to attend Parliament that night. Curiously enough, an anonymous letter, pointing out the danger, found its way to the King, it having been sent first to Lord Monteagle, ten days before Parliament. On the previous evening—4th November—inspired doubtless by this letter, the Lord Chancellor and Lord Monteagle visited the Parliament House, and seeing an unusual quantity of wood piled up said to Fawkes, who was there, that his master, Percy, had laid in plenty of fuel. The result of this visit was that a little after midnight Fawkes was arrested red-handed coming out of the cellar dressed as for a journey ; this prompt arrest saved a dreadful catastrophe.

He was examined and tortured, and confessed his guilt, but would not divulge his associates. Afterwards, however, by application of the rack, he disclosed their names. Fawkes expressed deep regret that he had lost the opportunity of firing his powder at once, and of sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. He was asked by a nobleman why he had collected so large a quantity of gunpowder, to which he replied : "To blow the Scottish beggars back to their native mountains." The conspirators were executed so far as discovered, and the Earl of Northumberland was fined in £30,000 and put in the Tower, because he had admitted Percy, a conspirator, into the number of gentlemen pensioners on their taking the requisite oath. But for the arrest of Fawkes this diabolical plot would doubtless have accomplished its purpose. The huge quantity of gunpowder prevents us forming any conception as to what the consequences of such an explosion would have been.

In the summer of 1605 the Government took steps to secure peace in the Western Isles ; Lord Scone, Controller of Scotland, was the official appointed to carry it out. Part of the scheme was the appointment of Argyll as justiciar and lieutenant of that part of the kingdom, and he became responsible for good order amongst the clansmen. For his services, Argyll

received a donation of Crown lands in Kintyre and the Isles for a nominal rent, which lands that family hold to this day. The position was one of great difficulty for Argyll, and he only held office for six months. Lord Scone was in June directed to proceed to Campbeltown to collect rents, and to receive the submission of the principal clans. Should any of them disobey his proclamation, their title-deeds were to be declared null and void, and they were to be pursued with fire and sword. A band of troops with forty days provisions were ordered to support Lord Scone. In August Lord Scone got a new commission with greater powers, when in the following month he held his Court in Kintyre, but it does not appear that the clans obeyed his summons, nor does it appear that he was able to compel the attendance of the more distant chiefs. In 1606 the Privy Council appointed a committee of its members to meet Lord Scone, and hear the offers made through him by the southern islanders for their obedience and for the more sure payment of the King's rents. The result was unfavourable. In 1607 the King granted a charter to Argyll of lands in Kintyre and in the island of Jura, which belonged to and were forfeited by Angus Macdonald.

It seemed impossible to pacify the chiefs and their followers, and an ingenious scheme was adopted. Troops arrived in Mull in August, 1608, under Andrew Stewart, Lord Ochiltree, the new lieutenant of the Isles, accompanied by Andrew Knox, bishop of the Isles. The chiefs assembled in great numbers, and were by the bishop invited on board his ship to hear the sermon. They came, heard the sermon, and were entertained to dinner. With this precious freight on board, Ochiltree sailed to Ayr, and the entrapped chieftains were conveyed to the prisons of Dumbarton, Stirling and Blackness. This ingenious plot of Ochiltree certainly for the moment restored peace in the Western Isles.

In July, 1606, a Parliament met at Perth, which gave

James satisfaction. By one of its acts it declared that his prerogative extended over all estates, persons and causes whatsoever. Another act rescinded the measure of 1587 fatal to Episcopacy in Scotland, which had annexed all ecclesiastical property to the Crown. On the pretext that he wished to confer with the clergy on the affairs of the Church, he summoned eight of the leading ministers, including Andrew and James Melville, to England. These men went in August. None of them gave satisfaction on the points James had most at heart. After a delay of eight months, six of the ministers were allowed to return to Scotland, the Melvilles excluded. James Melville remained an exile in England till his death. For dissenting from the King on points of Church government, and for writing an epigram on the Catholic tendencies of the English Church, Andrew Melville was confined in the Tower of London for three years, after which he was sent as an exile to the College of Sedan in France. Six other leading ministers, who were under sentence of high treason, were in October, 1606, put on board a ship at Leith, which was to bear them to lifelong exile.[1]

In the year 1607, we have the records of some extraordinary proceedings in the Ecclesiastical Courts. The subject of debate was what is known as the *ex officio* "Constant Moderator." This was an order of the King to Presbyteries to appoint such an official who was to be chosen from the Moderators of the Synod, and when once appointed was to hold office *ad vitam aut culpam*. This was regarded as a tyrannical ordinance of the King, and as the clergy were not consulted they resolved to disregard it. The Rev. Alexander Lindsay was ordained by the King and Privy Council to be the Constant Moderator of the Presbytery of Perth. But the record says "the lords of the Secret Council have been informed that the Synod has instructed the Presbytery of Perth to discharge Lindsay from the office and nominate

[1] Calderwood's Acts of the Scot. Par.

another. . . . The lords ordain the Presbytery to acknowledge and obey Lindsay, and not to presume or take upon themselves any other nomination; or discharge Lindsay under pain of rebellion; and to prohibit the other members from accepting the Moderatorship." The clergy resented this arbitrary dictatorship, and so far from obeying the King, were more determined than ever to have nothing to do with the Constant Moderator. The Synod met on 8th April, in Perth—William Ross, Moderator. Lord Scone, the King's commissioner, presented his commission, but the Synod refused to hear it read. Lord Scone would not allow them to proceed with business. The Synod requested him to take advice, and dissolved the meeting. Next day, on the assembling of the Synod, Lord Scone again appeared, and intimated that he would discharge the Synod as he had the power to do so. His commission was then read. The Synod resolved that they would elect their Moderator as formerly. At this Lord Scone exclaimed that the magistrates must remove them. They charged him, in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, by whose authority they were convened, not to trouble the meeting. But he responded: "There is no Jesus Christ here." Calderwood's version: "The devil a Jesus Christ is here." The Moderator: "Cease, my lord, we will not be prevented by violence from the doing of our office under the Lord Jesus Christ." Livingstone, the new Moderator, was then chosen, when Lord Scone tried to put him out of the chair by sitting down in it himself. The Synod then engaged in prayer, but his lordship disturbed them, endeavouring to overthrow the table upon them, and asked that the magistrates be sent for. The magistrates arrived upon the scene, and Lord Scone commanded them to ring the common bell and remove the rebels. The magistrates said they could not do so without the authority of the Council, which they would go and convene, but they never returned. The Synod proceeded according to order and removed the Presbytery of Perth forth for

trial. Lord Scone shut the door and locked them out; but they getting access to a loft or gallery, signified to their brethren their presence from that place. The Synod proceeded with the trial till nine p.m., appointing to meet again in ten hours. Returning at that time they found the doors shut. The magistrates came and informed them that Lord Scone had done so and taken the keys with him. They therefore resolved to sit at the kirk door, and amid silence the meeting was opened with prayer. The Synod instructed the Presbytery to cancel the appointment of Alexander Lindsay as "Constant Moderator" and choose another; the Synod at the same time disregarding an order of the King, through Lord Scone, to nominate a Constant Moderator for Auchterarder Presbytery. These extraordinary proceedings created great excitement all over the country, and the clergy were commended for the firm and determined position they had taken up. It would appear that the lords of the Privy Council prohibited the Presbytery from appointing anyone but Lindsay. Next presbytery day, Lindsay, accompanied by the bishop of Dunblane and the ministers of Abernethy and Kinnoull, met in the kirk, but none of the Presbytery convened with them. The Rev. William Ross, in his sermon, behaved seditiously, and stirred up his brethren not to obey the orders of the King's commissioner. His sermon lasted four hours. The Privy Council ordained Ross to be imprisoned in Blackness Castle, there to remain at his own expense during the King's pleasure. Livingstone, for accepting the Moderatorship, was imprisoned within his own parish of Stirling and prohibited from preaching outside his pulpit, or from attending the Presbytery or Synod, during the King's pleasure. This matter, which was an attempt to force Episcopacy on Presbyterian ministers, stamped the King as an arrogant and impracticable ruler, with no consideration for the feelings and opinions of others.

In February, 1610, James imposed on Scotland two

courts of High Commission for the punishment of ecclesiastical offences. There were then eleven bishops and two archbishops in Scotland. Each of these courts was to have an archbishop for its president, and was to consist of clergy and laity. All the lieges were to be subject to its jurisdiction. Offences in life or religion were to be its special province, and fines and imprisonment the means of enforcing its authority. By its act of 1592, Parliament had declared Presbyterianism to be the polity or constitution of the Scottish Church; by Parliament, therefore, this act must be undone. The Parliament of 1612 ratified the act of the Glasgow assembly in favour of Episcopacy, and even contrived to extend the Episcopal jurisdiction in the process.[1] But for the tyranny of James, the future of Presbytery and Episcopacy in Scotland would have been widely different from what it has actually been.

The trial of Robert, sixth Lord Crichton of Sanquhar, took place in Westminster Hall on 27th June, 1612. He had been engaged in a trial of skill with John Turner, a fencing master, when he had the misfortune to get his eye put out. He was charged with the murder of Turner, whom he caused to be shot by means of two men specially hired. Crichton fled, and a reward of £1,000 was offered for his capture. He was arrested, tried, found guilty, and executed on 29th June, in the palace-yard, Westminster; and the two men who shot Turner were executed the same morning in Fleet Street. The Archbishop pled for Crichton's life, but in vain. Crichton made a long speech on the scaffold, defending himself; he is said to have been a Catholic, and a man of great courage and wit, and endowed with many accomplishments. He was admired for his heroic deeds, and his untimely end created disapprobation at the time.

Prince Henry, the King's eldest son, died in 1612, in the eighteenth year of his age, to the deep regret of the nation. He was a young man of high principle,

[1] Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

and of unblemished character. He possessed more dignity in his behaviour, and commanded more respect, than his father. Neither his high position nor his youth had in any way seduced him. Business and ambition were his strong points; had his life been spared, he would have been a highly capable ruler.

The King paid a visit to Scotland on 13th May, 1617, and remained three months. This period was greatly occupied in State receptions and pageants of such kind as Scotland could afford. James was accompanied by Archbishop Laud. The English or Episcopal service was observed at Holyrood, when the leading officials, by his orders, took the Sacrament in a kneeling posture. At a meeting of the Estates in July, a bill was passed providing that in external matters of Church policy the King's decisions, taken in council with the bishops, should have the full force of law, the bishops adding, "With a competent number of the ministry." It would appear that fifty-five ministers protested against this, and presented the protest to the King, when he reluctantly and with a bad grace gave in. At St. Andrews, on 13th July, he held a clerical convention, at which the archbishop, bishops, and twenty-six ministers were present. He then submitted the Five Articles of which Spottiswoode had given him warning, while the convention decided that the General Assembly only was competent to deal with them. At Perth, in August, 1618, the General Assembly sanctioned the Five Articles, afterwards called the Five Articles of Perth, which were imposed on the nation by the will of the King, and this was the origin of the controversy which went on in the reign of Charles I.

These Articles were—(1) Kneeling when receiving the Communion; (2) Administration of the Communion to sick, dying, or infirm persons in their houses in cases of necessity; (3) Administration of baptism in private, in similar circumstances; (4) Confirmation of the young by the bishop of the diocese; (5) The observance of the five great commemorations of the Christian Church—

the birth, passion, resurrection, ascension, and sending down of the Holy Ghost. On 21st October, these were ratified by the Privy Council. The meeting of the Estates which sanctioned these Articles was held on 4th August, 1621. This was called the Black Parliament, because of a fearful tempest of rain which took place during its sittings, accompanied with thunder, lightning and darkness. By a majority of 85 to 57 the Estates passed the Articles. As the commissioner touched the acts with the sceptre, three brilliant flashes of lightning, each followed by a terrific peal of thunder, lit up the chamber, which had been in darkness, and was presently in darkness again. The effect of these Articles becoming law was, that in Edinburgh the churches were deserted; the citizens assembled in conventicles, and worshipped with ministers in the neighbourhood who were of their own way of thinking. The Five Articles of Perth were cancelled by the General Assembly at Glasgow in 1638.

At this visit the King ordered all the professors of Edinburgh University to meet him at the Chapel Royal, Stirling, where a great debate took place in presence of many learned men and English and Scottish nobility. The King, who presided, entered the lists with the debaters, and not satisfied with the distinction of at least appearing to be victor in every encounter, still further displayed his skill by alternately attacking and defending the same propositions. At the close of the debate he retired to supper, but he afterwards sent for the professors and talked to them at great length on the various subjects of the debate. He then complimented the debaters individually on the manner in which each had acquitted himself. These remarks, which were meant to be witty, were mixed up with a series of puns on the names of the professors; and however they might be regarded by these learned men, he was himself so delighted that he ordered them to be rendered into Latin and English

verse. He further showed his respect for the professors by announcing himself a patron of the Edinburgh University, giving it the designation of King James's College, and ordering his name to be placed over the gates.[1]

A session of Parliament took place during this visit, which passed an act for the restoration of the Dean and Chapter of each See and for the restoration of the temporalities of the deaneries, canonries and prebends so far as these could be restored. Another act was passed called "Anent the plantation of Kirks." This act is well known in ecclesiastical circles. Its preamble says: "There be divers kirks within this kingdom not planted with ministers, where ignorance and atheism abound among the people; many of those that are planted have no sufficient provision nor maintenance appointed to them, whereby the ministers are kept in poverty and contempt, and cannot fruitfully travel in their charges."[2]

The trial of Sir Walter Raleigh at Westminster on 17th November, 1603, for high treason was a disgraceful event in the reign of James. He was charged, along with Lord Cobham, of conspiring against the King's life in order to put Lady Arabella Stuart, daughter of the Earl of Lennox, and niece of Queen Mary, on the throne. Raleigh was convicted on the testimony of Cobham, a single witness, and condemned to be executed. Sir Edward Coke, Attorney-General, conducted the case like an infuriated wild beast, and undoubtedly influenced the jury in coming to a false decision. He called Raleigh "a damnable atheist, a spider of hell, a viperous traitor." Apart from Cobham's false evidence, there was not a vestige of proof against Raleigh. After the sentence was delivered the King commuted it into imprisonment during the King's pleasure. Raleigh lay in the Tower a prisoner for fourteen years, and at the end of that period he fell on an ingenious attempt to get out by suggesting to the

[1] Calderwood. [2] Acts of Scot. Par.

King that there was a gold mine in Guiana, South America, in which he was interested, and if he was permitted to go there he would enrich both himself and the King. The King, always "hard up," permitted him to go in search of this El Dorado and to champion an expedition for the purpose. The affair turned out a myth, and Raleigh on his return was again thrown into the Tower. There being much difficulty as to the mode of proceeding against him, the Lord Chancellor assembled all the judges of York House and conferred with them in an opinion that Raleigh, being attainted for high treason, could not be drawn into questions, judicially, for any crime or offence since committed, recommending either that a warrant should be sent to the Tower for his immediate execution, under the former sentence; or whether the Lords of the Council and judges should not give their advice whether in respect of these offences the King might not with justice give warrant for his execution on his attainder. This course was adopted. Raleigh was again brought up for trial, and Coke, the former Attorney-General and Raleigh's enemy, was now promoted to be Lord Chief Justice. In giving judgment he said, towards the close of a hypocritical speech: "I am here called to grant execution upon the judgment given you fifteen years since; all which time you have been a dead man to the law, and might at any moment have been cut off, but the King in mercy spared you. You might think it heavy if this were done in cold blood to call you to execution, but it is not so. . . . I know you have been valiant and wise, and I doubt not that you retain both these virtues, for now you shall have occasion to use them. . . . Fear not death too much, nor fear not death too little; not too much lest you fail in your hopes; not too little lest you die presumptuously; and may God have mercy on your soul." Lord Campbell adds that the trial of Raleigh reflected lasting disgrace on the King and his counsellors. Raleigh was executed on 29th October, 1618.

Sir Walter Raleigh, to the King the night before execution:—The life which I had, most mighty Prince, the law has taken from me, and I am but the same earth and dust out of which I was made. If my offence had any proportion with your Majesty's mercy I might despair; or if my deserving had any quantity with your immeasurable goodness I might yet have hope; but it is you that must judge, not I. Name, blood, gentility, or estate I have none; no, not so much as a being; no, not so much as a *vitam plantæ;* I have only a penitent soul in a body of iron, which unveils towards the loadstone of death, and cannot be withheld from touching it, except your Majesty may turn the point towards me that expelleth. . . But God hath laid this heavy burden upon me, miserable and unfortunate wretch that I am. But for not loving you God hath laid this sorrow on me, for He knows that I honoured your Majesty by fame and love, and admired you by knowledge, so that whether I live or die, your Majesty's loving servant I will live and die. . . . The more my misery is the more is your Majesty's mercy, and the less I can deserve the more liberal your gift shall be. This being the first letter that ever you received from a dead man, I humbly submit myself to the will of God, my supreme Lord, and shall willingly and patiently suffer whatever it shall please your Majesty to afflict me withal.

Sir Walter Raleigh to his wife:—You shall now receive, my dear wife, my last words in these my last lines. My love I send you that you may keep it when I am dead; and my counsel that you may remember it when I am no more. I would not, by my will, present you with sorrows; let them go into the grave with me and be buried in the dust. And that it is not God's will that I should see you any more in this life, bear it patiently, and with a heart like thyself. I beseech you, for the love you bore me living, do not hide yourself many days, but by your travels seek to help your miserable fortunes and the right of your poor child. Thy mourning cannot avail, as I am but dust. I trust

my blood will quench their malice who have cruelly murdered me, and that they will not seek also to kill thee with extreme poverty. To what friend to direct thee I know not, for all mine have left me in the time of trial; and I perceive that my death was determined on from the first day. I meant to have left you all my office of wines, or all that I could have purchased by selling it; but God hath prevented all my resolutions, that great God who ruleth all in all; but if you can live free from want, care for no more, the rest is but vanity. Love God, and begin betimes to repose yourself on Him. Teach your son also to live for Him whilst he is yet young, that the fear of God may grow upon him. Take heed of the pretences of men and their affections, for they last not but in honest and worthy men, and no greater misery can befal you in this life than to become a prey, and afterwards to be despised. . . . As for me, I am no more yours nor you mine; death hath cut us asunder, and God hath divided me from the world and you from me. Bury my dead body, which living was denied thee, and either lay it at Steelburn or Exeter church, by my father and mother. I can say no more; time and death call me away; the everlasting, powerful, infinite and omnipotent God, that Almighty God who is goodness itself, the true life and true light, keep thee, and have mercy on me, and teach me to forgive my persecutors and accusers, and appoint me to meet in His glorious kingdom. Farewell! Pray for me, and let my good God hold you in His arms. Written with the dying hand of sometime thy husband, but now, alas, overthrown. WALTER RALEIGH.

Bacon, the Lord Chancellor, was severely censured by his contemporaries for acquiescing in Raleigh's execution. He thought to have resisted the outrage of executing a man under a sentence pronounced nearly sixteen years before, and who latterly had been entrusted with supreme power over the lives of others.[1]

[1] Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors.

We are informed that the only rational motive assigned for the cruel treatment of Arabella Stuart, a captive in the Tower of London, by the Governor, Sir William Wade, was that she had allowed herself to be put forward as a claimant for the English throne, Sir Walter Raleigh being responsible for inciting her to this step. The King's love of buffoonery never deserted him even when age and vexation were pressing hard upon him. But what he most delighted in was any burlesque, however caricatured on the incidents of real life, the more ridiculous the more it pleased him. The Earl of Buckingham was connected with rather a humorous incident:—A young lady on one occasion was introduced to the King, carrying in her arms a pig in the dress of an infant, which the Countess of Buckingham presented to the King in a rich mantle; one Turpin, dressed like a bishop, in a satin gown, lawn sleeves and the usual pontifical ornaments, commenced reading the ceremony of baptism from the Book of Common Prayer, while an assistant stood ready with a silver ewer filled with water. The King, to whom the joke was intended to convey a pleasing surprise, hearing the pig suddenly squeak, looked more closely about him and recognised Buckingham, who was intended to personify the godfather. "Away, for shame!" cried the King. "What blasphemy is this?" extremely indignant at the trick which had been imposed upon him.[1]

James VI. died on 27th March, 1625, in his fiftieth year, having reigned over England twenty-two years and in Scotland nearly all his life. He was interred on 7th May in Westminster Abbey.

There has been some controversy as to whether James died from the effects of poison. It is recorded that Dr. Eglisham, one of his physicians, fled to Brussels to escape trouble for some expressions he had used about the King's death. At Brussels he published a book to prove that James was poisoned,

[1] England under the Stuarts.

and charging the death to Buckingham and his mother. It is stated that the King being sick with ague, the Duke took the opportunity when the doctors were at dinner to offer and press the King to take a white powder, which the King reluctantly took in wine after much importunity. He immediately became worse, suffered paroxysms of pain, and cried out: "Would to God I had never taken it." The Countess applied a plaster to the King's heart and breast. The physicians, when they returned to the room, exclaimed that the King was poisoned. A charge was made against Buckingham in Parliament, but for want of proof it evidently fell through. Eglisham said that neither he nor any other physician could tell what the drug was.[1]

Epitaph on Sir Philip Sidney by James:—

> When Venus saw the noble Sidney dying,
> She thought it her beloved Mars had been;
> And with the thought thereof she fell a-crying,
> And cast away her rings and carknets clean.
> He that in death a goddess mock'd and grieved,
> What had he done (trow you) if he had lived.

In all history, says a historian, it would be difficult to find a reign less illustrious yet more unspotted and unblemished than that of James in both kingdoms.[2] That his generosity bordered, as has been said, on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, his wisdom on cunning, his friendship on light fancy and boyish fondness, is generally admitted. Of political courage and personal bravery he was destitute. From the narrative we have given, his character may be fairly estimated. He had a long and prosperous reign, notwithstanding the interminable quarrels which constantly surrounded him. Unlike his predecessors, he never engaged in war. It was well, for he was wanting in those qualities which constitute a military ruler. His reign, however, was

[1] Harleian MSS. [2] Hume.

full of important and startling events, which began with his baptism and his extraordinary coronation, and ended with the disgraceful execution of Sir Walter Raleigh. The fall of the Regent Morton, one of the great events of his reign, was an ably carried out scheme, and removed from the realm the greatest enemy to the throne. This was followed some time after by the execution of the first Earl of Gowrie, an event that was called for in securing the peace of the nation. The King had a powerful minister in the Earl of Arran. He was a man of action and a courageous man; and while he had many faults, he contributed much to the success of James's administration during his too short tenure of office. Without him the Regent Morton would never have been removed.

The assassination of the Earl of Moray in 1590 by Huntly, on the pretence that the previous Earl had massacred the Gordons in 1560, is an event that Huntly ought to have been punished for, as Moray was an innocent man, and had nothing to do with the actions of his ancestors. The King showed great pusillanimity, not to say suspicion, in condoning this event, more particularly as such a brutal outrage threatened the peace of the realm; but the remark has been hazarded: Was the King not concerned in this assassination? His behaviour at the Gowrie Conspiracy, and his relations with Gowrie, are shrouded in mystery, and will ever remain so; while the execution of innocent persons on that occasion who were eye-witnesses of the event will always be a dark spot on his reputation. No less so was his petty and inexcusable conduct in the persecution of Robert Bruce. The ecclesiastical troubles in Scotland at the close of the sixteenth and the early years of the seventeenth century, and his forcing Episcopacy on the Scottish people in a tyrannical manner, shows his character in anything but a creditable light. At the best he was an injudicious, selfish and arrogant man, fickle and weak-minded, neither just nor high-principled, and as such his name will go down to

posterity. He has been severely reproached by some historians for his unnatural conduct to his mother, and in that reproach we concur. Nothing can excuse him for not taking summary steps to save his mother's life. In personal appearance, Sir Anthony Weldon says he was of middle stature, more corpulent through his clothes than in his body, yet fat enough, his clothes ever being made large and easy, the doublets quilted for stiletto proof, his breeches in great plaits and full stuffed. He was naturally of a timorous disposition, which was the reason of his quilted doublets; his eyes large, ever rolling after any stranger who came into his presence. His beard was very thin, his tongue too large for his mouth, which made him speak full in the mouth, as if eating his drink, which came out into the cup on each side of his mouth. He seldom, it is said, washed his hands, only rubbed his finger-ends slightly with the wet end of the napkin. His legs were very weak, having had, as was thought, careless treatment in childhood; that weakness made him ever leaning on other men's shoulders. In addition to his ruling taste for hunting—when he was usually attended by a valet who supplied him with his favourite beverage, French or Greek wine, also his weakness for the pleasures of the table—the cockpit at Whitehall was frequented by him at least twice a week, and indeed constituted one of his principal sources of amusement. It is even affirmed that the salary of the master of the cocks, amounting to £200 per annum, probably exceeded the allowance of the Secretary of State.[1] James is said to have been indifferent as to dress, and to have worn his clothes as long as they would hang upon him. In the reign of Henry IV. of France, the following epigram was popular at that period :—

> While Elizabeth was England's King,
> That dreadful name through Spain did ring;
> How altered is the case, ad's me!
> These juggling days of gude Queen Jamie!

[1] Jesse's Memoirs.

And Macaulay says "James was made up of two men —a witty, well-read scholar, who wrote, disputed and harangued, and a nervous, drivelling idiot who acted!"

During the reign of Mary and the early years of James, the Justice Ayres had ceased to be regularly held, the effect being that serious crimes were dealt with by the Court of Session in Edinburgh; lesser offences being left unpunished. By the act of 1587 it was ordained that Justice Ayres should be held twice a year in every shire, and that eight persons should be appointed to conduct them. By an act of the Estates in 1609 Justices of the Peace were appointed for every county. Every Justice, other than a nobleman, Prelate or Privy Councillor, or Lord of Session, was to receive 40s. Scots per day for his attendance on the court; this to be paid from the fines imposed in the district.[1]

In educational matters the most prominent act of James was his foundation of Edinburgh University in 1582.

James had become the scorn of the age, and while hungry writers flattered him out of measure at home, he was despised by all abroad as a pedant without true judgment, courage or steadiness, subject to his favourites, and delivered up to the corruption of Spain.[2]

One of his vices was his constant practice of having an oath in his mouth. Sir John Peyton assures us that, from the example set by the King, the fashion of swearing became common; and even the King's apologist, Bishop Goodman, admits that he was wonderfully passionate and much given to swearing. Notwithstanding this he gave, in his "Basilicon Doron," the following advice to his son—a young man who, it is said, regarded an oath with abhorrence: "Beware of offending your conscience with the use of swearing or lying, even in jest, for oaths are but a use and a sin clothed with no delight nor gain, and therefore inexcusable." In the British Museum will be found two little books, "Witty observations of King James gathered

[1] Acts of the Scot. Par. [2] Burnet.

JAMES VI.
King of Scotland.

(From a Portrait in the possession of C. Bryant, Esq.)

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in his ordinary discourse," and "Witty aphorisms of King James." From the former we give the following specimen:—

I love not one who will never be angry; for he that is without sorrow is without gladness; so he that is without anger is without love.

Parents may forbid their children an unfit marriage; but they may not force their consent to a fit one.

It is likely the people will mistake the King in good; but it is sure they will follow him in ill.

I wonder not so much that women paint themselves as that when they are painted men can love them.

Much money makes a country poor, for it sets a dear price on everything.

Cowardice is the mother of cruelty; it was only fear that made tyrants put so many to death to secure themselves.

In allusion to James's character for pedantry, Pope introduces the following lines into the "Dunciad":—

"Oh!" cried the Goddess, "for some pedant reign!
Some gentle James to bless the land again;
To stick the doctor's chair into the throne,
Give war to words, or war with words alone;
Senates and courts with Greek and Latin rule,
And turn the Council to a Grammar School."

On the day of the accession of James to the English crown, England descended from the rank which she had hitherto held and began to be regarded as a power hardly of the second order. During many years the British monarchy, under four successive princes of the House of Stuart, was scarcely a more important member of the European system than the little kingdom of Scotland had previously been. Of James I. it may be said, that if his administration had been able and splendid it would probably have been fatal to our country. We owe more to his weakness and meanness than to the wisdom and courage of much better sovereigns. He began his administration by putting an end to the war between England and Spain, and from that time he shunned hostilities with a caution

which was proof against the insults of his neighbours and the clamours of his subjects. Far inferior to Elizabeth in abilities and popularity, and excluded from the throne by the testament of Henry VIII., James was yet the undoubted heir of William the Conqueror. By his fondness for worthless minions he kept discontent constantly alive. His cowardice, his childishness, his pedantry, his ungainly person and manners, his provincial accent, made him an object of derision. The Scottish people had always been singularly turbulent and ungovernable; they had butchered their first James in his bedchamber; they had repeatedly arrayed themselves in arms against James II.; they had slain James III. on the field of battle; their disobedience had broken the heart of James V.; they had deposed and imprisoned Mary; they had led her son captive, while their habits were rude and martial. The Church of Rome was regarded by the great body of the people with a hatred which might be called ferocious, while the Church of England was the object of scarcely less aversion.[1]

James was only once married. The Queen predeceased him in 1619. There were six children, but only Charles and Elizabeth were alive at his death. Unlike most of his predecessors James had no natural children, and so far as can be ascertained he and the Queen lived a pure and virtuous life. The children were Robert, Margaret, Sophia, and Mary, who died in infancy; Prince Henry; Charles, afterwards Charles I.; Elizabeth, married to the Elector Palatine, King of Bohemia; the issue of this marriage was Frederick, Count Palatine, Charles, Count Palatine, Count Rupert, Maurice, Edward; Elizabeth and Louisa died without issue; Sophia married Ernest, Duke of Hanover. She, being nearest heir to the English crown, was nominated to Queen Anne, failing issue. She left issue, George Louis, Duke of Hanover, who married Sophia, daughter of William, Duke of Yell, by whom they had George,

[1] Macaulay's England.

born 1683, Frederick, Maximilian, Charles, Ernest, and one daughter, Sophia, married to Frederick, King of Prussia, and had issue.

PASQUIL ON SAUL AND THE WITCH OF ENDOR.[1]

Written in the Reign of James.

In guilty night and clad in false disguise,
Forsaken Saul to Endor comes, and cries :

Saul Woman, arise, call powerful arts together,
And raise that soul that I shall name, up hither.
Woman Why, wouldst thou wish me die, forbear, my son,
Dost thou not know what cruel Saul hath done?
Now he hath shame, now he hath murdered all,
All that were wise and could on spirits call.
Saul Woman, be bold, do but the thing I wish,
No harm from Saul shall come to thee for this.
Woman Whom wouldst thou have me call? I'll make him hear ;
Saul Old Samuel, let him alone appear.
Woman Alas! What fearest thou? Nought else but thee,
For thou art Saul and hast beguiled me.
Saul Peace, go on, whom hast thou, let me know.
Woman I see the Gods ascending from below ;
Who's that comes there, an old man mantled o'er.
Saul Ah! That is he ; let me that ghost adore.
Samuel Why hast thou robbed me of my rest, to see
That which I hate, this wicked world and thee.
Saul Oh! I am sore perplexed, vexed sore ;
God hath me left, and answers me no more ;
Distressed with wars and inward terrors too,
For pity's sake tell me what shall I do.
Samuel Art thou forlorn of God, and comest to me,
What can I tell thee then but misery?
Thy kingdom's gone into thy neighbour's race,
Thy house shall fall before thy very face ;
To-morrow, and till then, farewell, and breathe,
Thou and thy sons shall be with me beneath.

[1] Pasquils and biting epigrams, foretelling some fatal end, were in 1595 found pinned to Maitland the Chancellor's seat in open court.

CHAPTER II.

Birth of Charles—The Spanish love fiasco—Marriage of Charles and Henrietta Maria—Charles's first Proclamation—First meeting, English Parliament—Trial and Execution, Lord Ochiltree—Charles's visit to Scotland—Coronation at Edinburgh—Charles and the Episcopal vote—He opens the Scottish Parliament—The King's visit to Perth—Arrest of Balmerino—Scots bishops and their Liturgy—Assault of bishops in St. Giles—Uproarious proceedings—Traquair and the bishop assaulted—The Minister of Ayr chased—The Covenanters and the King—Subscription, National Covenant—Glasgow General Assembly, 1638—The King and Rothes quarrel—Argyll and Leslie lead Covenanters—Hamilton supports the King—Hamilton's reception, Leith sands—King and Commissioners, Scots Parliament—King's Speech dissolving Parliament—Defeat of the King's troops—The King at York—King's Speech to Lords at York—The Long Parliament—Star Chamber abolished—Trial and Execution of Lord Strafford—King visits Edinburgh—The General Assembly, 1641—Westminster Assembly of 1643.

REIGN OF CHARLES I.

A.D. 1625—1649.

CHARLES I., second son of James VI., was born at Dunfermline Abbey on 19th November, 1600, and was christened on 23rd December following, according to the form of the Episcopal Church, quietly and without ceremony. At four years of age he was created Duke of York; he was carried in the arms of Lord Howard, Lord High Admiral of England, and a curious pageant followed the ceremony. It is described by Sir Dudley Carleton in a letter of January, 1605, and is interesting as giving us a side-light into the manners of the time: "There was a great engine at the lower end of the

CHARLES I.
King of Scotland.

(By Vandyck.)
(From the Drummond Castle Collection.)
(Photo, Doig, Wilson & Wheatley.)

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room which had motion in it, there were images of sea-horses, with other terrible fishes, which were ridden by the Moors. The indecorum was that there was all fish and no water. At the further end was a great shell in the form of a scallop, wherein were four seats. In the lowest sat the Queen, in the others her ladies. Their appearance was rich, but too light and courtesan-like for such great ones. Instead of vizards, their faces and arms up to the elbows were painted black, which was disguise sufficient, for they were hard to be known. The night's work was concluded with a banquet in the great chamber, which was so furiously assaulted that down went table and tressels before one bit was touched."

There is really nothing recorded of the boyhood of Charles until he reached the age of seventeen years, when a match was proposed between him and Donna Maria, the Infanta of Spain, second daughter of Philip III. It was first set on foot in 1617, and negotiations were protracted till 1622. It was eventually resolved that Charles should go to Spain and make love in person to the lady. His father was unwilling that he should do so, but he ultimately consented, and on 17th February, 1623, the Prince, accompanied by his father's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham, and Sir Francis Cottington, set out for Madrid, travelling in disguise. The Prince arrived there on 7th March, and was cordially received by the King and Court.[1]

The principal quarter of the Royal palace was set apart for his accommodation, and the Spanish King appointed him a guard of 100 soldiers. Prisons were thrown open and prisoners set at liberty in honour of his visit. A day was set apart for the ceremony of a

[1] The Spaniards were struck with the handsome appearance of Charles, and with the romance of the visit, and a local poet composed some rhyme which was chanted on the streets, *e.g.*,

Charles Stuart I am,
Love has guided me far;
To the heavens of Spain,
To Maria, my star.

public entrance into the capital, after which there was a magnificent banquet at St. Jerome's monastery, which included the ministers of State. After the banquet the King came out and escorted the Prince back to the capital. By the custom of the time, Charles could not be introduced to the Infanta till a dispensation arrived from Rome. It arrived six months after Charles's arrival. His father was lavish in his jewels and presents for the Spanish Court. They amounted in value, it is said, to £100,000. The Infanta, however, declined to receive them until matters had matured. The mission cost the English Exchequer £50,000, apart from the jewels. The match, however, for some political reasons, probably because she was a Catholic, never came off. The Infanta was much to be pitied for the breaking off of the marriage. She was evidently much attached to the Prince, and had made arrangements of an extensive nature to go to England as the wife of Charles; while in Madrid she was styled the Princess of England. The brief glimpse we get of this lady leaves no doubt on the reader's mind of her devotion and affection for Charles. She was afterwards married to the Emperor Ferdinand III., and died in 1646. In 1624 a commission, headed by the Duke of Buckingham, was sent to France to take the feeling of the French Court as to a match between Charles and Henrietta Maria, third daughter of King Henry, and sister of Louis XIII. The commissioners were generously received, and a treaty of marriage was eventually signed at Paris on 10th November. It consisted of articles, the historian says, scarcely less discreditable to the English Court than those of the Spanish Treaty. The dowry of the Princess was 800,000 crowns.

On 27th March, 1625, King James died at Theobald's palace,[1] London, and, it is said, that within an hour

[1] Theobald's had been the residence of Sir William Cecil, Lord Burghley, who was visited here in 1564 by Queen Elizabeth. It afterwards became the property of James I. of England, who gave Sir Robert Cecil Hatfield in exchange for it. It was pulled down

HENRIETTA MARIA.

Queen of Scotland. Wife of Charles I.

(From a Portrait by Vandyck in the possession of the Earl of Clarendon.

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thereafter, Charles was proclaimed King at the court gate of Theobald's and at Westminster, and at Edinburgh shortly afterwards. The coronation of Charles took place at Westminster Abbey on 2nd February, 1626. The Queen refused to be crowned (being a Catholic), and would not even attend his coronation, at which great dissatisfaction was expressed.

The marriage of Charles was solemnised on 21st May, 1625, by proxy, at Paris with great splendour.

On 22nd June following the Princess Henrietta Maria arrived at Dover, escorted by the Duke of Buckingham and a train of English and French nobility. On the journey she received a beautiful and interesting letter from her mother, Maria de Medicis, bidding her a last farewell, and instructing her on the duties of life. This letter is too long for our limits.[1] The King came to Dover Castle the following morning to meet his bride. His arrival was unexpected; the Princess was at breakfast; she hasted downstairs to meet him, and offered to kneel and kiss his hand, but he folded her in his arms with many salutes. "Sire," she said, "I have come into your Majesty's country to be at your command," and with these words she burst into tears. Charles soothed her with many kind words, and the Royal party then went on to Canterbury. On the road there were pavilions and a banquet prepared, and all the English ladies of the Queen's household were waiting to be presented to the Queen. At Canterbury a great feast awaited them, Charles attending to his bride and carving for her. The same evening they were married in the great hall of that ancient city, and they remained there two or three days. They then went by water to London where they were received with great rejoicings; the banks of the river were lined with spectators, who stood on barges, and the guns at

in 1650, and the site is now occupied by the houses of Theobald's Square, near Southampton Row.

[1] *See* Strickland's "Queens of England," vol. viii.

the Tower sent forth peals of thunder, and the bells rang till midnight. The Royal pair retired to Hampton Court. The priestly retinue of Henrietta Maria consisted of thirty. In addition to these, she had a staff of male and female attendants, numbering upwards of 400. These lost no opportunity of fomenting quarrels between King and Queen. The cost of these attendants is recorded at £240 a day. Their continual presence became so intolerable to Charles that he resolved to get quit of them. Considerable negotiations went on for their dismissal; they objected to being expelled, and eventually the Yeomen of the Guard forcibly put them out of the palace and marched them to Somerset House. The same evening the King informed them that they had greatly embittered his domestic happiness, and that further endurance was out of the question. The King had locked the Queen in her room at Whitehall so that she might not see them depart. It is said she was furious at this, tore her hair and cut her hands by dashing them through the window. All this took place in July, 1626. The Yeomen of the Guard, under Buckingham, were eventually ordered to turn the whole contingent out of Somerset House, and see them shipped at Dover. This occupied four days, and nearly forty carriages were required; but it was accomplished. The liberality of Charles on this occasion was munificent. His list of the donations preserved in the Harleian manuscripts amounts to £22,672, while in the excitement that was going on the Queen's wardrobe was by the women absolutely carried off, not even a dress being left.[1]

When Henrietta Maria on one occasion told her physician, Sir Theodore Meyerne, that she found her understanding was failing her and was terrified lest it should approach to madness, Meyerne replied: "Madam, fear not that; for you are already mad."

The Duke of Buckingham (George Villiers, first Duke), who was a favourite of James VI., and who

[1] Jesse's Memoirs.

went to Spain with Prince Charles on the memorable love-tour which failed, acquired in after years a great influence and power over the King, now Charles I. The people keenly resented this influence, to such an extent that Buckingham was in 1628 assassinated by one Felton, a subaltern.[1]

One of Charles's first acts was to issue a proclamation intimating that all persons who should disturb his government, or mislead his people by making them suppose that he intended to make any change in the government of the Church, should be severely punished; after which the Town Council of Edinburgh were ordered to choose no magistrates except those who obeyed the Five Articles of Perth. Whether the Town Council respected this order we are not informed, but the probability is they did not.

In 1628 the King called a meeting of the English Parliament, which was determined to maintain the liberties of the nation, and presented the Petition of Right.[2] He disapproved, assumed a threatening tone, and finally, when he could not get his own way, dissolved Parliament on 10th March, 1629. He even caused some of the members of the House of Commons to be imprisoned for their behaviour in disobeying him, which was considered an inexcusable

[1] On one occasion a libel was taken down from a post in Coleman Street by a constable and carried to the Lord Mayor, who ordered it to be delivered to the King. The libel was :—

Who rules the kingdom? The King.
Who rules the King? The Duke.
Who rules the Duke? The Devil.

And another said :—

Let Charles and George do what they can,
The Duke shall die like Dr. Lamb.
(Lamb was murdered.)

And after the assassination of the Duke another said :—

The Duke has gone down to Hell,
To see King James.

[2] This petition declared that it should not be in the King's power either to banish or imprison any person without acquainting him of his crime.

proceeding. Whatever may have been the causes which led up to this attitude of the King—and of these we are not informed—he did not again convene Parliament for a period of eleven years. It seems extraordinary that the members of both Houses submitted to this. During that long interval he governed the kingdom single-handed, with the Earl of Strafford and Archbishop Laud as his chief advisers, obtaining for his edicts the approval of the Star Chamber. Obviously, such administration could not continue, and it seems like the irony of fate that these three men were all eventually beheaded. Charles resolved to retain Prelacy as established by his father in Scotland, and ordered the bishops to be diligent in the prosecution of it; while the people were led to understand that they had no relief to expect at his hands, as he had inherited his father's hostility to Presbyterianism and Nonconformity. One of Charles's first acts was to demand an unconditional surrender of all the tithes and other Church property which had reverted to his father at the Reformation, and was gifted by him to the nobles. The nobles resolved to resist this to the last extremity. The King was enraged, and in 1625 ordered the Revocation Act, which had been already prepared to be published, when it was found to extend beyond the Reformation to the distance of eighty-three years, and to include every grant made in the two preceding reigns. The King insisted on his prerogative, and prosecutions were instituted against such nobles as refused to comply with the King's demand. They were prosecuted separately, and the result was general and permanent discontent.

The political significance of this step was that it threw the majority of the nobles on the side of the Presbyterian clergy, and thus renewed the alliance which at the Reformation period had been so disastrous to the Crown.[1] According to Professor Masson,

[1] Hume Brown.

there were erected into temporal lordships, between 1587 and 1625, twenty-one abbeys, seven priories, six nunneries, two preceptories, and two ministries. There must have been few families in Scotland not affected by this movement. On 12th October, 1625, this Revocation Act passed the Privy Seal. Opposition of a formidable character was raised against it, and deputation after deputation waited on the King to remonstrate. It was not till January, 1627, when the King made up his mind to have a Commission for surrenders of Superiorities and Teinds, which was directed to sit till the close of July.[2] The plan devised by Charles for the remedy of the evil was that every heritor was to have the power of purchasing his own tithes from the titulars or holders. This commission found that all erections should be resigned into the King's hands, and that their owners should accept the composition he might offer. The parties interested were the Lords of Erections, Burghs which had received grants of Church lands, the Clergy, and the tacksmen of teinds. In September, 1629, the King gave his deliverance that the value of the teinds be declared to be one-fifth of the rents of the lands, and their heritable value to be nine years' purchase; for the erected lands ten years' purchase. The act was of great importance to the clergy and to the Church in Scotland, and paved the way for the permanent provision of its ministers.

In 1629 Charles ordained that in July, at the sound of trumpets, the Communion be dispensed in the Chapel Royal, Holyrood, that all members of the Privy Council and College of Justice, and other servants of the Crown should, under the highest penalty, join that sacred ordinance. In this he was not obeyed, and he wrote the Privy Council that "such of them as would not obey should be required to forbear the execution of their several charges in our service (suspension from office) until they brought

[1] Acts of the Scot. Par.

a certificate of their having received the Communion from the dean of the chapel . . . and we require you to remove from our Council table all who are disobedient."

During the reign of Charles, we have some disgraceful examples of the administration of justice in the trial and execution of some of the most prominent statesmen and nobility of the kingdom, as recorded in the State Trials of the period. The trial of Lord Ochiltree in 1631 was a notable example. This was James Stewart, sixth Lord, eldest son of James Stewart, fifth Lord, who was created Earl of Arran by James VI., and was the man who caused the downfall and execution of the Regent Morton.[1] Lord Ochiltree, in 1631, had foolishly charged the Marquis of Hamilton and three other nobles with treason, for having designs on the Crown, and he was unable to prove his case. For this he was arrested and was himself arraigned for treason. The trial was a most protracted one, but Ochiltree was found guilty and sentenced to imprisonment for life in Blackness Castle. He lay twenty years in that dreadful prison by the relentless order of Charles, but was released by Cromwell when Charles's forces were defeated at Worcester. The unfortunate nobleman survived his release only seven years. In Scotland there was much indignation against Charles for this oppressive treatment of Ochiltree without adequate cause.

On 17th May, 1633, Charles, after many promises, set out from London to visit Scotland, in order to be crowned. He had a brilliant escort of 500 English noblemen, gentlemen and ecclesiastics, including Archbishop Laud. The party rested four days at Berwick; at Seton the King was the guest of the Earl of Winton, and at Dalkeith Palace of the Earl of Morton. He left Dalkeith on 15th June, and made his official entry into Edinburgh. It is said the pageantry on the occasion

[1] Andrew Stewart, the first Lord, exchanged the lands and title of Avondale for those of Ochiltree in 1540, in the reign of James IV.

exceeded in magnificence and costliness anything of the kind that had ever been seen in Scotland. He was received by the magistrates of Edinburgh in their official robes, and by the population with much enthusiasm. The magistrates were attended by 260 armed youths, dressed in doublets of white satin, and black velvet breeches. On the line of procession the streets were hung with carpets and tapestry, lined with trained bands and expensive decorations. The Provost presented him with a basin made of pure gold, valued at 5,000 merks, and into it was poured from a purse 1,000 golden angels (gold coins of the period).[1]

At eight o'clock a.m., in the great hall of the castle, in a chair of state, the King received a congratulatory address from the nobility and barons, presented by the Chancellor. A procession was formed, preceded by trumpeters, when the nobility, clergy, and officers of State took their places according to degree. Next came the King, attired in crimson velvet, his train borne by four noblemen. Dismounting at Holyrood, he walked to the Abbey Church, having borne over him a canopy of crimson velvet fringed with gold. The archbishop of Glasgow rode in the procession, but Spottiswoode, the archbishop of St. Andrews, waited at the west door of the church to receive him. The King walked to the dais where the crown, sceptre, sword and spurs, also the anointing oil, were placed near the Communion Table. The bishop of Brechin preached the sermon from 1 Kings i. 39, after which the Archbishop of St. Andrews presented him to the people. An anthem was then sung, and the Primate administered the coronation oath. Under a canopy near the pulpit the King was by the Primate anointed with the consecrated oil. He was then crowned, and the clergy and barons, having sworn allegiance, were permitted to salute the King, after which he joined the Holy Communion, and thereafter left the church, wearing the crown and carrying the sceptre. The following day

[1] Maltman's History of Edinburgh.

Parliament assembled in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, whither the King proceeded in state. He was on horseback, wore a purple velvet robe, which had been worn on great occasions by James IV., and was of such dimensions that it was borne up by five grooms of honour who walked behind. On his head was a hat surmounted by a bunch of white feathers. The sword of state was carried by the Earl of Buchan, the sceptre by the Earl of Rothes, the crown by the Marquis of Douglas. This Parliament, which he opened in person, lasted only two days. The first day was devoted to the election of the Lords of the Articles; the bishops were named by the Chancellor; they in turn nominated the temporal peers, and both selected the burgesses and lesser barons from the third Estate. A curious incident occurred. The dresses worn by the clergy at the coronation were regarded with suspicion, and the nobles expected that the surplice would be brought into use, if the acts granted in the reign of James VI. were ratified. The Lords of the Articles now desired an act of Charles to confirm these. On the reading of the proposed act, Lord Melville stated in the King's presence: "I have sworn with your father and the whole kingdom to the Confession of Faith, in which the innovations intended by these Articles were solemnly abjured." The King would allow no debate, but ordered a vote to be taken. It was found that the proposed act was rejected; fifteen peers and forty-five commoners having voted against it. Notwithstanding this, the Lord Clerk Register, Sir John Hay, had the effrontery to report that the act was carried, and it is said that this dishonest proceeding was by the connivance of the King. The Earl of Rothes rose and contradicted Hay, intimating that the negatives had the majority, but the King announced that the Lord Clerk Register's result must be accepted as the decision of Parliament, and the act therefore received the Royal assent. This incident seriously affected Charles's popularity in Scotland. Those who voted

against him lost the Royal favour, and it is alleged he took every opportunity of mortifying them by open neglect when they appeared in Court, or by reproaching them in an insolent manner.[1] This Parliament was led on by the Episcopal and Court faction, which afterwards proved to be the stone that crushed him to pieces, and the fuel of that flame which set the country on fire not long after. This Parliament, when it rose on 28th June, had put its seal to no fewer than 168 acts, and it sanctioned the Act of Revocation.

Several noblemen received honours at this time:—George, Viscount Dupplin, was created Earl of Kinnoull, died 1635; William, Lord Ramsay, Earl of Dalhousie; Sir David Lindsay, Lord Balcarres; William, Lord Alexander, Earl of Stirling; David, Lord Carnegie, Earl of Southesk; Patrick Oliphant, created Lord Oliphant, etc., etc.

After the coronation the King visited Linlithgow, Stirling, Dunfermline, Falkland and Perth. At Perth he made his official entry on 8th July, and was received at the South Inch by the Provost and magistrates, who presented him with an address, which he listened to sitting on horseback. Young men clad in red and white then escorted him to Gowrie House, occupied by Lord Kinnoull. Next day he attended divine service, after which he returned to Gowrie House, and sat in a chair on the garden wall in front of the river to witness an entertainment there; thirteen of the Glovers, dressed in their uniform, danced the sword dance, or Morrice dance, and other dances, on a floating stage of timber on the Tay. The Town Council ordered 40 fat oxen to be used for the King's entertainment, and all the best houses to be kept for Englishmen. The Glovers still possess one of the Morrice dresses used on that occasion. The King remained a few days, and returned to Edinburgh.

The incident of the King pretending to cure scrofula took place on 4th June, 1634, when he went to the Chapel Royal, where 100 diseased persons were

[1] Taylor.

assembled. After laying an offering on the altar, he touched them all individually; and in commemoration of the event he suspended, by a white silken ribbon, from the neck of each a gold medal, coined expressly for the occasion. The King returned to London on 19th July (1634), and went to Greenwich, where the Queen had given birth to another son, afterwards James VII. of Scotland and II. of England. Before his departure from Edinburgh, the nobles who dissented from him in Parliament resolved to ask him to reconsider the matter, and they put their reasons on paper, and deputed Lord Rothes to present it. While perusing the paper the King showed signs of impatience, and on returning it to Rothes said: "No more of this, my lord, I command you." This ungracious answer caused the petitioners to abandon their design, while it indicated the haughty temper of their sovereign. Lord Balmerino had the impression that the paper presented by Rothes might be toned down and still presented to the King as a fresh document. He drew it up and submitted it to Dunmore, a notary, for his advice, and he, under a promise of secrecy, showed it to Hay of Naughton, Balmerino's enemy. Hay copied it, and sent it to the Archbishop of St. Andrews. The Prelate went to Court and read the document before the King, urging him to make a severe example of some of those in connection with it as a warning to others. The King issued a commission of inquiry. The result was that Balmerino was arrested on a charge of sedition, and every effort made to have him condemned. The jury, by the casting vote of Traquair, the chairman, found him guilty, and he was sentenced to death, but the execution of the sentence was delayed. The tumult of the people became so great at this extreme sentence that they threatened to break the door of the prison and release Balmerino. Traquair hastened to Court, and advised the King that in the present condition of Scotland it would not be advisable to carry out the sentence. He was soon after released. At this date the Earl of

Kinnoull, the Lord Chancellor, died, and Archbishop Spottiswoode was appointed to succeed him.

In January, 1635, Archbishop Spottiswoode was made Lord Chancellor of Scotland; his son, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, was president of the Court of Session. In May following Charles appended his warrant to a Book of Canons which found its way into Scotland the following year. Imposed on the country without reference to the General Assembly or Parliament, this book was received with indignation. By it the King was the absolute head of the Church, and it commanded the acceptance of a new Service-Book, which was in course of preparation, and which the people were opposed to. In October, 1634, Charles had established a new Court of High Commission with most extensive powers. This court would compel the operation of the new canons.

As soon as these began to be read in the High Church of Edinburgh a tumult took place. The bishop, Dr. Lindsay, who was to preach that day, endeavoured to make peace, but without effect. The same disorders happened in many churches where the Service-Book was attempted to be read. The Lords of the Council issued several proclamations for the restoration of peace, but without effect. The Council were petitioned by some of the nobility and others to remove the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and the High Commission Court. These canons are said to have been prepared by Scotch bishops, but evidently Archbishop Laud finally revised them in terms of the following order of the King: "Canterbury, I would have you and the bishop of London peruse the canons which are sent from the bishops of Scotland; and to your best skill see that they be well fitted for Church government, and as near as convenient to the canons of the Church of England. And to that end you, or either of you, may alter what you may find fitting; and this shall be your warrant."[1]

[1] Prynne's Hidden Works.

They were adopted by the King, and were as much his personal act as if he had penned them in his cabinet. A complete code of laws for the government of a church issued by a sovereign without a consultation with the representatives of that church is unexampled in European history.[1] In further development of this matter there was found in Laud's chambers in the Tower the following document:—"Charles I.: I gave the Archbishop of Canterbury command to make the alterations expressed in this book, and to fit a liturgy for the Church of Scotland; and wherever they differ from another book signed by me at Hampton Court, 28th September, 1634, our pleasure is to have these followed rather than the former, unless the Archbishop of St. Andrews and his brethren see reason for the contrary.—*Whitehall, 19th April,* 1636."

Some of the Puritans had written against these innovations, and against the bishops who were the occasion of them. At the instance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, three of these writers—Prynne, Burton and Bastwick—had, by command of the King, their ears cut off, and were committed to gaol.

The history of Scotland will not be truly understood by anyone who fails to see that to force any religion on the people would be accepted as a national insult. Laud and his party were plotting the gradual restoration of Popery in England. The Service-Book and liturgy was to be the ritual of all the churches in Scotland at Easter, 1637, but it was postponed. On the 16th July it was announced, by command of the King, that it would be used in the churches of Edinburgh the following Sunday. Whenever the Dean of Edinburgh opened the fatal volume on that day a scene occurred; books and other missiles were thrown at the speaker, and the bishop of Edinburgh, who stood up to rebuke the rioters, narrowly escaped a blow on the head from a stool. For a month after this riot there was no divine service on week-days.[2] In St. Giles, on the

[1] Hill Burton. [2] Gordon's History.

first day of reading the liturgy (23rd July, 1637) the Dean, arrayed in his surplice, began the service, the bishop and several of the Privy Council being present. No sooner had the Dean opened the book than a multitude, mostly women, clapping their hands, cursing and crying out: "A Pope! a Pope! antichrist! stone him," raised such a tumult that it was impossible to proceed with the service. The bishop mounted the pulpit in order to appease the audience, and had a stool thrown at him accompanied by such epithets from the audience as "False antichristian," "Wolf," "Beastly belly-god," and "Crafty fox." The Dean, Dr. Hannay, ascended the reading-desk, and commenced the litany. Immediately some of the audience cried: "Son of a witch's breeding, and the devil's get;" "No healthsome water can come forth from such a polluted fountain;" "Ill hanged thief; if at that time when thou wentest to court thou hadst been well hanged thou hadst not been here to be a pest to God's Church this day." The Council were insulted, and it was with difficulty that the magistrates, who were called down from the gallery by Archbishop Spottiswoode, were able to expel the rabble and shut the doors. The tumult continued outside; stones were thrown at the doors and windows, and when the service was ended the bishop, going home, was attacked and narrowly escaped the enraged multitude. Some, however, could not effect their escape, and it is recorded that a good Christian woman, perceiving that she could get no passage out, betook herself to her Bible in a remote corner of the church. As she was stopping her ears at the voice of Popish charmers, a young man sitting behind her began to sound forth "A-men." At the hearing of this she quickly turned about, and after she had warmed both his cheeks with the weight of her hands she shot this thunderbolt at him: "False thief, is there no other part of the kirk to sing mass in but thou must sing it at my lug?" The bishop on his way home was so severely mobbed that he had to take refuge in a citizen's house.

A female servant of the family, taking notice of his coming, made the door-cheek and his mouth to be both in one category. A certain woman from the mob cried: "Fy, if I could get the thrapple out of him;" but another replied, if she got her desire a worse one might come in his room. She replied: "After Cardinal Beaton was sticket, we had never another cardinal; and if that false Judas were now sticket, scarce any man would hazard to be his successor." The bishop was at last rescued by the Earl of Wemyss.[1]

According to the Privy Council records all classes of the people petitioned the Council against the Service-Book and Book of Canons, and the supplicants waited many weeks before getting satisfaction. The result was the issue of three proclamations. The reading of these at the Mercat Cross incensed the people of Edinburgh. Their first opportunity of mischief was afforded by the bishop of Galloway walking openly along the street to the Council Chambers. The mob rushed on him, and he fled for his life to the Council House. There he was besieged by the mob, and when some members of the Council, hearing of his danger, went to his relief, they too were pursued by the mob to the door of the Council House, and held prisoners there till they got within. Traquair, the Lord Treasurer, was hustled and thrown down, and without hat or cloak he was carried by the crowd to the Council House door.[2] The bishop of Galloway was the public enemy who made so narrow an escape from the second tumult. There he was assailed as "Papist loon; Jesuit loon; betrayer of religion," and it was charged against him that he had a crucifix in his cabinet where he said his prayers.

William Annan, minister of Ayr, preached at the opening of the Diocesan Assembly of Glasgow, and attempted to defend the liturgy. The citizens who disapproved the liturgy were exasperated, and when the assembly broke up Annan was assailed by an

[1] Lives of the Lindsays. [2] Hill Burton.

infuriated mob. During the day he was pursued with hootings and execrations, and on venturing out at night was assailed by a multitude of women, chiefly the wives of burgesses, and was grossly insulted and maltreated. They beat him with their fists and with stones, and pelted him with peats and other missiles, and after tearing to pieces his hat and coat sent him in that condition to his home. In the morning when about to take his departure, he was accompanied to his horse by the magistrates and several of the clergy for protection. The people collected in great numbers, and his horse, startled by their appearance, unfortunately fell as soon as Annan had mounted, and rolling over him he was so besmeared with mud that it was impossible to distinguish the colour of his clothes. This called forth great merriment, and Annan, in a most undignified plight, made his escape amid the unrestrained ridicule and derision of the people.

For some time these vexatious and riotous proceedings against the King and Laud for attempting to force a liturgy on the people seriously affected the civil administration of the Crown; the functions of government were superseded; the law was paralysed; the administration of justice neglected to such an extent that fraudulent debtors set their creditors at defiance; and in the North, it is said, depredation and murder were perpetrated openly and with impunity.

The 1st March, 1638, was a day of thanksgiving. The Covenanters assembled in the Greyfriars, Edinburgh. After sermon the Covenant was read, when Lord Loudoun, the Chancellor, expatiated to the audience on the importance of union at that critical period, and exhorted them all to persevere in the cause they had espoused. The noblemen present advancing to the table subscribed the Covenant, and swore to observe the duties which it required. Their example was followed by thousands of all ranks who pressed forward and subscribed with enthusiasm. The vast sheet of parchment was in a short time covered

with signatures, and for want of room some members only signed their initials. This was a death-blow to the liturgy and bishops. It is said so great was the enthusiasm that some signed even with their blood. A supplication by the Covenanters was immediately forwarded to the King showing him the feeling of the Scottish nation, and Hamilton and others at Court were written to to support the cause with the King. The King, on consideration, felt that the opposition in Scotland was too powerful to be regarded with indifference, and he resolved to send a High Commissioner to act as mediator. The Privy Council sent Sir John Hamilton (afterwards Marquis of Hamilton) to the King to advise him of the state of matters in Scotland, and to declare that the cause of these troubles was the fear apprehended of innovations in religion from the Service-Book and Book of Canons, and to suggest to the King not to urge the practice of the liturgy against the will of the people. This discreet advice had no effect on the King.

The subscribing of the National Covenant began 1st March, 1638, in the Greyfriars Church of Edinburgh. The Glasgow General Assembly of 21st November, 1638, ratified it, and the Confession of Faith which it embraced; and deposed the whole Hierarchy which had been established by Charles. It was subsequently ratified by the second Scottish Parliament of Charles, held at Edinburgh 11th June, 1640. It repudiated the jurisdiction of the Pope, and all observances in connection with the Romish Church.

At this point we have a new act in the drama, which came on the Scottish people as a great surprise. The King ordered Hamilton to issue a proclamation discharging the Service-Book and Book of Canons, ordered a General Assembly to be held in November, and a free Parliament thereafter; the bishops to be handed over to the Assembly for trial. The King and his Court were ostensibly to become Covenanters, and all their opponents to be pardoned. The King wrote Hamilton

on 10th September: "You shall in full and ample manner, by proclamation or otherwise, declare that we do absolutely revoke the Service-Book, the Book of Canons and the High Commission. You shall likewise discharge the practice of the Five Articles of Perth, notwithstanding the act of Parliament which commands the same; and in the said proclamation you shall promise in our name, that if in the first Parliament the Three Estates shall think fit to repeal the act we shall give our Royal assent thereto. You shall also declare that we have authorised the lords of the Privy Council to subscribe the Confession of Faith and bond thereto annexed subscribed by the King in 1580, and having enjoined them to take order that all our subjects subscribe the same."

Next followed the Glasgow General Assembly of 1638. The High Commissioner, the Marquis of Hamilton, sat on a canopied throne surrounded by the chief officers of State. There were seventeen peers and a large number of barons, who as lay elders were members of Assembly. Above in one of the aisles, there was a stage for young nobles and men of rank not members of Assembly; with a large number of ladies and gentlemen in the vaults above. There were 140 ecclesiastical, and 100 lay members. The first business was the repeal of the acts of preceding assemblies from 1606 downwards, including the Five Articles of Perth. Then the Service-Book, the Book of Canons, and the Book of Ordination were severally repudiated, as also Episcopal government in the Church. Then followed the trial of the fourteen bishops. The bishop of Dunblane was denounced as a corrupter of the people, by the spread of Arminianism; Guthrie, bishop of Moray, was also denounced, as also the bishop of Edinburgh. The result was that, of the fourteen bishops found guilty, six were deposed, eight, including two archbishops, deposed and excommunicated. The sentence of excommunication placed these men in great peril. They could hold no civil rights, they were

outlaws, and they sought refuge in England. It was further enacted that no minister be intruded into any parish contrary to the will of the people. The High Commissioner, seeing how matters went, was dissatisfied with what he considered the illegality of their proceedings, and announced his intention of dissolving the Assembly, which he did on 8th December, in the King's name. The Moderator, Alexander Henderson, told him they were very sorry he should leave them, but their consciences bore witness that they had done nothing amiss, and could not desert the work of the Lord. They continued their sitting, and declared the proceedings of the six former assemblies to be null and void. The King issued a declaration against their procedure, but in spite of that they continued their sittings till 20th December, when the Assembly was dissolved by the following words of the Moderator:—"We have now cast down the walls of Jericho; let him that rebuildeth them beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."

The Privy Council met afterwards at Linlithgow, when another proclamation was issued, intimating that the riotous conduct of his subjects had caused the King to postpone his answer, but in the meantime he assured them of his abhorrence of Popery. This did not satisfy the Covenanters. After these proceedings the King resolved to make a tour through Fife, of which county the Earl of Rothes was sheriff. He and Lord Lindsay, bailies of the regality of St. Andrews, desirous of showing their loyalty to the King, assembled their friends to the number of 2,000 horsemen to welcome His Majesty. The King's ill-temper at Rothes for opposing him in Parliament caused him to change his route and go to Dunfermline by a private road. Rothes's escort having waited for some hours, became aware of the insult they had received, and indignantly dispersed. This incident created much feeling against the King, and was another of his foolish actions, which in no small degree tended to set up the people against him. This was an

eventful period in the history of Scotland. It witnessed the heroic conduct of our forefathers in the sufferings they endured, and the battles they fought on behalf of Protestant Faith; and the blood that was shed in that memorable crisis of Scottish history.

The effect of the decision of the Assembly was a pilgrimage to the North by certain nobles for the purpose of raising support for the Covenant. This was successful, and the Scottish nobles who went there—Argyll and others—were able to raise 3,000 or 4,000 men, and with that force they were determined to fight the Royalists. The King, assisted by Hamilton and Laud, made formidable preparation. The King was to raise 30,000 horse and foot, and to lead them in person to Scotland; he was to write all the nobility of England to wait upon him with their attendants, who should be paid by the King; and to put garrisons in Berwick and Carlisle—2,000 in the former, and 500 in the latter. On 23rd March, 1639, General Leslie, at the head of a party of Covenanters, demanded possession of Edinburgh Castle, which was refused, but Leslie accomplished his purpose. On 20th May, 1639, the Scots army was paraded on the Links at Leith, under Leslie, and next day the march to the English border began. The army consisted of 22,000 foot and 500 horse. When it reached the Berwickshire coast Lord Holland handed Leslie a proclamation by the King, stating that if the Scots came within ten miles of the border they were to be treated as rebels and to be attacked by the English. The Scots agreed to keep ten miles distant.

Arrangements were made for giving Hamilton a great reception, and specially to show him the strength of the Covenanters. Upwards of 20,000 of them, consisting of noblemen, gentlemen, and others on foot and on horseback from every shire of the kingdom, were stationed for his reception between Musselburgh and Leith; 600 clergymen in their gowns were conspicuously posted on a rising ground, and a vast

number of persons of all ranks and of both sexes lined the entire way to Edinburgh. The whole multitude was estimated at 50,000. As Hamilton rode slowly along through this great assembly, and between two rows of Covenanters, he was assailed on every side with earnest supplications to advise the King to deliver them from the bishops and books, give them free exercise of their religion, and restore their ministers. Hamilton was deeply touched, and stated that if the King had been there and witnessed it he would never have pressed his obnoxious measure on such a people. Hamilton remained some time at Holyrood and had many interviews with the Covenanters, but nothing came of his visit and he returned to London. Three months after the King sent him on a second visit to Edinburgh to try and come to terms with the Covenanters, but that visit also failed.

Hamilton was thereafter sent on a third mission to Edinburgh (17th September), as the King was anxious to avoid a rupture with the Covenanters. Hamilton was commissioned to grant nearly everything that they had originally demanded, the recall of the Service-Book and Canons, the abolition of the Court of High Commission, the suspension of the Articles of Perth, the summoning of a free Parliament, and the subjection of the bishops to the General Assembly. The King also gave Hamilton secret instructions which would counteract this ordinance: all which showed his insincerity. The General Assembly was convened in November, and Hamilton did not return to London till 5th January, 1639. Parliament met at Edinburgh, 15th May, 1639, but was immediately prorogued. Leslie was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army, and Balmerino, Governor of Edinburgh Castle.

On 9th June, 1639, the King and the Covenanters, having each mustered their forces, commissioners assembled according to the King's appointment in Lord Arundel's tent at Berwick; but they had scarcely entered when the King make his appearance. Address-

ing the Scots deputies, he said he was informed they had complained that they could not be heard, and therefore he was now come to hear what they would say. Rothes replied that they required only to be secured in their religion and liberties. The King said if they had come to sue for grace they should specify in writing all their desires, which would be considered. This was done; they begged that the acts of the General Assembly, passed at Glasgow, should be ratified by Parliament on 23rd July; that all ecclesiastical matters should be determined by the Kirk, and all civil by Parliament, to be held at least once in two or three years; that all troops be recalled, and persons and goods arrested be restored; that excommunicated persons and disturbers of the peace be allowed to suffer their deserved censure and punishment. The King desired them to give their reasons for these requests, when John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, on his knees said: "That their demands were only to enjoy their religion and liberties according to the laws of the kingdom." The King required two days for deliberation; at the expiry of which time he agreed to these requests; but a week afterwards he changed his mind.

Before his return to London the King sent for fourteen of the leading Covenanters to meet him at Berwick, to see what effect Royal persuasion might have upon them. Six only obeyed the summons, and of these Montrose alone was gained over to the King's side. Being now in the Royal favour, he left the cause of the Covenanters and determined to support the King.

On 4th August, 1639, at a meeting of the English Council, the King drew attention to a paper containing an account of the conference from the Scots side, and he characterised it as being full of falsehoods, dishonour and scandal to the King's proceedings at the late pacification. The Council resolved that the paper should be publicly burned by the hangman. The General Assembly met at Edinburgh on 12th August,

the Earl of Traquair commissioner. Care was taken to exclude opponents to the Covenant. An act was passed concerning the Canons and remedies of the bygone evils of the Kirk. It enumerated the Five Articles of Perth; the establishment of bishops; the Service-Book, Book of Canons, and other grievances; and declared them to be still abjured and unlawful, and condemned Episcopacy as contrary to the Word of God. The Assembly ratified the Covenant, ordaining the same to be sworn and subscribed by the nation.

This Assembly, to complete its victory, desired to obtain the Royal sanction to the National Covenant, and the assent of Traquair, the Commissioner, was actually obtained more readily than they had anticipated, under reservation, however, that as he understood it was the same as that signed by James VI.; and for the sake of settling a perfect peace he consented to let the Covenant be subscribed throughout the kingdom. The King was displeased at Traquair for this.

On 31st August, the day after the rising of the Assembly, Parliament assembled. Traquair rode in great state from Holyrood attended by forty-five nobles, forty-eight representatives of shires, and fifty-one representatives of burghs, the crown, sceptre, and sword of State being carried by Argyll, Crawford and Sutherland. The first business was to appoint the Lords of the Articles; eight bishops nominated eight nobles; these jointly nominated eight barons; and the whole nominated eight burgesses. This Parliament abolished Episcopacy, and after the conclusion of its business was prorogued and appointed to meet again in June, 1640. It was evident, however, that until Charles ratified these acts of Parliament against Episcopacy the Covenanters could have no security for the future.

On 20th February, 1640, commissioners from the Scottish Parliament, consisting of John Campbell, Earl of Loudoun, Lord Dunfermline, Sir William Douglas, and the Provost of Irvine, had an interview with the King for the purpose of defending and vindicating the

position taken up by the Scots. Loudoun, who was a very clever man, was spokeman. Several interviews took place, and eventually a letter was discovered written to the King of France (but not sent) inviting assistance. This letter bore Loudoun's signature as well as that of others. The King was in indignation, declared Loudoun guilty of treason, and ordered him to be immediately beheaded. Sir William Balfour, Lieutenant of the Tower, unwilling to put a nobleman to death without trial, carried the warrant to Lord Hamilton, and desired him to intercede with the King. These two men obtained access to the King at midnight, when he had retired to rest. The King, anticipating their errand, exclaimed as soon as they entered his presence: "By God, it shall be executed." Hamilton represented to him the odium he would incur by putting a nobleman to death without conviction or trial; if he persevered in his resolution Scotland would be lost for ever, and his own person put in danger from the resentment of the people. The King called for the warrant, tore it to pieces, and sullenly dismissed Hamilton and Balfour. Loudoun afterwards regained the King's favour, and in 1641 was made a Privy Councillor and Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

The English Parliament met on 13th April, when Charles made an appeal for an immediate grant of money to fight the Scots. Parliament considered that the public grievances should take precedence of his application and everything else, and they proceeded to business, letting him understand that its sympathies were more with the Scots than himself. The King, irritated at the treatment of his application, dissolved Parliament in the following terms:—

My lords, I never came here upon so unpleasing an errand, being for the dissolving of a Parliament. Many wonder why I did not rather choose to do this by proxy, it being a general maxim of kings to lay hard work upon their ministers, themselves executing pleasing

things; considering that justice is as impartial in commending and rewarding virtue as in punishing vice. I thought it necessary to come here to-day to declare to you that it was only the disobedient attitude of the Lower House that had caused this dissolution, and that you, my lords, are so far from being causers of it, that I have implicit faith in your obedience and your attitude towards me. I have cause to disapprove these proceedings, yet I must say that they do mistake me wondrously who think that I lay the fault equally upon the Lower House, for I know that there are many there who are as loyal subjects as any in the world. I know that it was only some vipers amongst them who cast this first disobedience before their eyes, although there were some who could not be infected with this contagion; some who seem by their speaking. . . . To conclude, my lords, as those ill-affected persons must have their reward, so you of the Upper House may justly claim from me that protection and favour that a good king bears to his faithful and loving subjects.

Parliament was then dissolved.

The King having dissolved Parliament in this arrogant manner, was compelled to seek money elsewhere; and it is recorded that he made the most desperate efforts to obtain supplies, independent of Parliament. His procedure was illegal, dishonourable and oppressive; he ordered the counties to advance coat and conduct money for their troops; he purchased on credit from the East India merchants all their pepper, and resold it under its value for ready money; he exacted a bonus of £40,000 from the merchants who had bullion deposited for safety in the Tower, under threat of seizing the whole in case of refusal; and he levied a contribution to a large amount on the city of London, under pain of forfeiting its privileges as a corporation. Between the dissolution and the Long Parliament was an interval of a few months, during which time the yoke was severely pressed down upon

the nation, while the spirit of the people resented this more than ever. Members of the House of Commons were questioned by the Privy Council respecting their Parliamentary conduct, and actually thrown into prison for refusing to reply. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London were threatened with imprisonment for remissness in collecting money. Soldiers were enlisted by force, and money for their support exacted from other counties. Torture was inflicted for the last time in England in May, 1640. The arrogant conduct of the King compelled the Scots to take up arms in their own defence.

In the middle of July, 1640, General Leslie and the Covenanters mustered at Douglas a force of 20,000 foot and 2,500 horse. This army was to abide some time on the border, and then, if necessary, go into England. On 20th August they crossed the Tweed at Coldstream; at Newburn, five miles from Newcastle, the English, under General Conway, met them, when a battle took place not of a serious character, but the Scots defeated the English, and Newcastle was thereafter captured by the Covenanters; also Durham, Tynemouth and Shields. The King received this news at York, where he had just arrived. He was in the midst of financial trouble, not being able to find money to pay his soldiers when his defeated troops came in upon him. The victors had let it be known that they were prepared to march to York; meantime they proceeded to Durham. In the discussion which ensued the King's Council recommended the holding of a conference at Ripon on 1st October, to which the Scots should send eight representatives and the English sixteen. This commission duly met, transacted some important business, and eventually, at the King's request, adjourned to London, and was not again heard of.

By this treaty it was stipulated that both armies should be kept on foot, that there should be a truce for two months, during which time the Scots army should receive £850 per day, subsistence, which they were

allowed to raise in Northumberland and the North of England, and in default of payment they should continue there where they had winter quarters.

In the interval between this and the meeting of Parliament on 3rd November, the Scots army was vastly reinforced, and on the 24th September the King assembled the peers at York to discuss the situation, and to find ways and means how the army was to be maintained till Parliamentary supplies might be had. It was resolved to borrow from the city of London £200,000, and commissioners were appointed, who duly negotiated the loan. This money was duly paid to the Scots by the King's order, and the Scots, when they recrossed the border, could boast of having at their credit £200,000 of English gold.

During the sitting of the Court at York the King, on 24th September, 1640, addressed the lords as follows :—

Upon sudden invasion, where the dangers are near and instant, it has been the custom of my predecessors to assemble the Great Council of the peers, and by their advice and assistance to give remedy to such evils as could not admit delay, so long as must of necessity be allowed for the assembling of Parliament. This being our condition at this time, and an army of rebels lodged within this kingdom, I have thought fit to conform myself to their practices. That we may jointly proceed to the chastising of their insolence and the security of my subjects ; in the first place, I must let you know that I desire nothing more than to be rightly understood by my people, and to that end I have resolved to call a Parliament, and have given orders to the Lord Keeper and Mr. Attorney for the writs that Parliament may be assembled by the 3rd November next, whether, if my subjects bring their good intention, which become them toward me, I shall not fail on my part to make it a happy meeting. In the meantime there are two points on which I shall desire your advice, which indeed was the chief cause of your meeting ; first, what answer to

give to those petitions of the rebels, and in what manner to treat with them that ye may give a sure judgment, I have ordered that your lordships shall be clearly informed of the state of business, and upon what this advice that my Privy Council unanimously gave me was grounded; the second thing, how my army may be kept afoot and maintained until a supply from Parliament may be had, for so long as the Scots army remain in England no man will advise me to disband mine; for that would be an unspeakable loss to this part of the kingdom, by subjecting them to the attacks of the rebels; besides the unspeakable disgrace that would fall upon the nation.

The Long Parliament met at Westminster in November, 1640. In opening this famous Parliament the King said:—

The troubles in Scotland have been the occasion of the sitting of this Parliament, but the confidence I have in you is the principal motive, together with my desire to give satisfaction to your complaints touching several points of government. I am fully resolved to put myself upon your affections, even as to those things which regard myself, and consequently much more in what concerns the public, wherein we have both an equal interest. You will find such sincerity and frankness in my proceedings as shall remove all the jealousy you have conceived of my design, and shall plainly perceive that your liberties were never safer under any reign than mine. I only recommend two things for your consideration. The first, to find out the proper means to drive the rebels from our frontiers which they have so boldly invaded; the second, to do it speedily, that the northern counties may not sink under the oppression of two armies that live upon and regard them as securities to furnish all their wants. In all other respects, you shall find me so easy and desirous to give you satisfaction that much trouble will be

saved, and the time that would otherwise be spent in debate may be employed in executing what shall be agreed.

Parliament compelled him to pass an act for triennial Parliaments, which obliged him to call them every three years; and in case of failure on his part, the Keeper of the Great Seal and the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster were empowered to convene it. Parliament was not to be dissolved without the consent of both Houses; and should continue sitting so long as they should think it convenient for the public good.[1]

The Star Chamber, the High Commission, the Council of York were ordered to be swept away, and prisoners in dungeons set at liberty. On the chief ministers of the Crown the vengeance of the nation was unsparingly exercised in respect of their misgovernment of the nation during the preceding eleven years. These years covered the intolerable persecution that went on in Scotland to impose a liturgy on the people, which called forth the resistance of the Covenanters. This Parliament resolved to take the bull by the horns, and ordered the impeachment of the Earl of Strafford, Charles's principal minister, Finch, the Lord Keeper, and Archbishop Laud. Finch escaped to the Continent, but the other two were arrested and imprisoned in the Tower of London.

This Parliament remembered the dissolution in the fourth year of his reign, and the untrue and scandalous declaration thereupon, the imprisonment of several members after that dissolution, and detaining them prisoners for words spoken in Parliament; one of whom died in prison for want of ordinary food . . . whose blood, they said, cried for vengeance. They reproached the King with injustice, oppression and violence; with the great sums of money he had exacted throughout

[1] It was dissolved by Cromwell in 1648.

the kingdom for default of knighthood; with advancing rates and laying new impositions on trade; with the odious monopolies of wine, soap, salt, leather and sea coal; with raising great sums of money for licenses to build; with seizing the merchants' money in the Mint, and an abominable system of making brass money; forcing Scotland to raise an army in its own defence, and raising an army against them; with the pacification and breach of that agreement; also that he called a Parliament after in hope to corrupt it and make it countenance the war in Scotland; which, when he found it would not do he dissolved it, and then committed members to prison; compelled men to lend money against their wills, and imprisoned those who refused.[1]

Some time after, Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, the devoted friend and companion of the King, was impeached by Pym and other members of Parliament, and was tried and condemned. He was in the prime of life, having been born in 1593. On account of his energy, his capacity and his administrative talents, he was considered the chief minister of Charles. He had induced the Parliament of Ireland to advance large sums of money to enable Charles to fight the Scots, and it is said he obliged the Scots who lived in Ireland to renounce the Covenant; while he proclaimed the Covenanters rebels and traitors. His authority and influence was unlimited. He was a man of a cruel and imperious nature. His object was to put the estates and personal liberty of the people at the disposal of the Crown; to deprive courts of law of independent authority; to punish those who murmured at the acts of the Government, or who applied to any tribunal for relief against these.[2] The Star Chamber was a political, the High Commission a religious, inquisition. Guided chiefly by the violent spirit of Archbishop Laud, and freed from the control of Parliament, he displayed an amount of violence that

[1] Chamber's Rebellion. [2] Macaulay.

had hitherto been unknown. We are informed by Clarendon that there was hardly a man of note in the realm who had not personal experience of the tyranny of the Star Chamber; that the High Commission had so conducted itself that it had scarcely a friend left in the kingdom, and that the tyranny of the "Council of fools" (Strafford's Council) had made the great charter a dead letter north of the Trent. Pym, in his impeachment of Strafford, required first the doors of the House of Commons to be locked and the keys laid on the table. He then proceeded and enumerated all the grievances under which the nation laboured. Where Strafford had been intrusted with authority he had raised monuments of tyranny. It belonged to the House to provide a remedy, so as to prevent further mischief, justly to be apprehended from the influence which this man had acquired over the counsels of their sovereign. The trial began on 22nd April, 1641, in Westminster Hall, and lasted eighteen days. At the upper end of the hall was placed a throne for the King and a chair for the Prince. On each side of the throne was an enclosure covered with tapestry. In one of these sat some French nobles who were then in England; in the other the King and Queen, with several ladies of Court. A curtain was attached to the front of this box to preserve the Royal party unseen, but the King tore it down with his own hands. The Queen and her ladies were observed taking notes during the trial. Immediately under the throne sat the peers in their Parliamentary robes, and near them the judges on woolsacks in scarlet gowns. Lower down were ten ranges of seats for members of the House of Commons. Strafford employed four secretaries, who sat at a desk behind him. He was brought from the Tower by water daily, escorted by six barges and guarded by 100 soldiers. On his landing at Westminster, he was received by 100 men of the trained bands, who conducted him to the hall,

and afterwards guarded the doors. Strafford and the peers arrived at eight o'clock in the morning ; the King half an hour earlier. The Chamberlain and Black Rod daily brought in Strafford to the hall ; he was dressed in black. At the entry he made a low curtesy ; proceeding a little, he gave a second ; when he came to his desk, a third ; then at the bar he kneeled ; rising quickly, he saluted both sides of the House and then sat down.

It would appear that Strafford supported a bill for seizing money in the Tower, the property of foreign merchants. In his defence he much feared the reformation which was begun in blood would not prove so fortunate to the kingdom as they expected and he wished. He indulged in expressions of devotion to the Church of England and the Protestant religion ; of his loyalty to the King, and affection for the peace and welfare of the realm. Each charge against him, even if proved, did not amount to treason. Pym pointed out that Strafford showed an intention to change the Government, which was in itself treason. The Commons passed the bill of impeachment and found him guilty. When it was sent up to the Lords they showed reluctance to condemn him. The Commons thereupon dropped the impeachment, and brought in a bill of attainder, which was passed, fifty-nine members of the Commons dissenting. The King signed this bill after offering all the opposition to it he could. During the trial, the King wrote Strafford :—

Strafford, the misfortune that is fallen upon you by the strange mistaking and conjunction of those times is such that I must lay by the thought of employing you hereafter in my affairs ; yet I cannot rest in honour or conscience without assuring you, in the midst of all your troubles, that upon the word of a king, you shall not suffer in life, honour or fortune. This is but justice, and therefore a very mean reward from a master to so faithful and able a servant as you

have shown yourself to be; yet it is as much, I conceive, as the present times will permit, though none shall hinder me from being your constant and faithful friend. CHARLES R.

Strafford relied on this letter to save his life, but it did not. Charles made every effort to save his friend. On the 11th May, the day preceding the execution, he sent the Prince of Wales to the House of Lords with a letter written in his own hand, in which he implored the Lords to confer with the Commons and endeavour to spare Strafford's life, but it was unavailing. When Secretary Carleton went to the Tower and informed Strafford he was to die, he asked whether His Majesty had passed the bill, not believing the King would have done it. When the secretary informed him it was too true, he rose from his chair, lifting up his eyes to heaven, and, laying his hand on his head, exclaimed: "Put not your trust in princes nor in the sons of men, for in them is no salvation." Next day Strafford was brought from the Tower and beheaded on Tower Hill.

Thus fell, the historian [1] says, the greatest subject in power in England, a man of great parts and extraordinary endowments of Nature. He had readiness of conception and sharpness of expression, and in the words of Richelieu: "The English nation were so foolish that they would not let the wisest head among them stand upon its own shoulders."

The King left London for Edinburgh on 10th August, 1641, accompanied by a committee of Parliament who would watch his conduct, as he had by his systematic duplicity rendered himself an object of suspicion. He was received during his progress with the greatest coldness everywhere. On the 13th August he halted at Newcastle, where he dined with General Leslie. On the evening of the 14th he reached Holyrood, his retinue reduced to three persons—his nephew, the

[1] Clarendon.

Elector Palatine, and Lords Lennox and Hamilton. He issued the following proclamation:—

Whereas the King intends forthwith, in his own person or by his lieutenants, with an army, to go to war against the Scots (by God's assistance) to redress their treason and rebellion; and for that end hath already begun his journey to the North. His Majesty hereby requires and charges all lords, spiritual and temporal, barons, baronets and squires, and all others of whatever estate or condition: that they take knowledge of this His Majesty's summons, and before the 20th day of September next be prepared with horses and arms for performance of service at the town of Newcastle-on-Tyne, or such other place where His Majesty's forces shall be; from there to go with His Majesty or his officers in war against the rebels. . . . Given at the Court at Whitehall 20th August, in the sixteenth year of His Majesty's reign, 1641.

The General Assembly and Parliament both met at Edinburgh on 15th July, 1641, the Assembly holding its sittings in the forenoon of each day, and Parliament in the afternoon. The Assembly was opened by the Earl of Wemyss as High Commissioner, who delivered a message from the King intimating an intention to secure the liberties of the Church, and to appoint to vacant parishes only able and efficient ministers. Parliament was asked to excuse the King's attendance until 15th August.

The King attended the Parliament at Edinburgh on 19th August, when he delivered the following speech:—

My lords and gentlemen, there hath been nothing so displeasing to me as these unhappy differences which have occurred between me and my people, and nothing that I have more desired than to see that day wherein I hope not only to settle these differences but rightly to know and to be known by my native country. I need

not tell you what difficulties I have passed through and overcome to be here at present. If love had not been the chief motive to this journey, other arrangements might have been made to do by a commission what I am come to perform myself. And this considered, I cannot doubt of such real proof of your affection for the maintenance of the Royal power which I enjoy after 108 descents, and which you have professed to maintain, and to which your own national oath doth oblige you; and shall not think any pains ill bestowed. The object of my coming here is briefly this: To perfect whatever I have promised, and to quiet the distractions which have and may fall out amongst you; and this I mean not superficially, but fully and cheerfully to perform. . . . Wherefore, not desiring to limit myself to words, I desire in the first place to settle that which concerns the religion and just liberties of this my native country before I proceed to any act.

This Parliament ratified the Treaty of York, and instructed His Majesty to nominate the officers of State, Privy Councillors and Lords of Session. The King then bestowed the following honours:—The Earl of Argyll to be Marquis; General Leslie to be Earl of Leven; John Campbell to be Earl of Loudoun; Sir John Scrimgeour of Dudhope to be Viscount of Dundee; Sir Andrew Moray of Balvaird, minister of Abdie, to be Lord Balvaird. The King returned to London on 19th November. Clarendon adds: "And conferred other honours on persons according to the capacity and ability they had in doing him mischief."

On 23rd November, 1641, the Long Parliament having reassembled, passed the famous Remembrance, in which it proposed that in order the better to effect a reformation in the Church there should be a general Synod of divines, who should consider all things necessary for its peace and good government. Out of this proposal sprang the Westminster Assembly to settle the government and liturgy of the Church of England. The ordinance

summoning this assembly was issued on 12th June, 1643. It began its sittings shortly after and sat till February, 1649. It consisted of 121 clergymen, 10 lords, and 20 commoners, and during the period stated the sittings numbered 163.

Note.—Sir John Lyon, first Lord Glamis, ancestor of the Chancellor who was accidentally shot at Stirling in 1578, was for three years Lord Chamberlain of Scotland. He married Lady Jean Stuart, daughter of Robert II., by Elizabeth Mure. On account of a quarrel with Sir James Lindsay of Crawford he was, in 1383, slain by Lindsay in a duel at Balhall, near Forfar.—(*See* p. 486, vol. i.)

CHAPTER III.

The Bishops and the King—Twelve Bishops charged with treason—King demands five M.P.'s to be delivered up—King takes Speaker's chair—He is assaulted by the mob—Commons disregard King's authority—King refuses to ratify decrees of Parliament—He removes to York—King and Parliament quarrel—Impeachment of the York Lords—Battle of Edgehill—King escapes to Oxford—Propositions for peace—Solemn League and Covenant—Oxford Parliament—Battle of Marston Moor—Execution of Archbishop Laud—Battles of Tibbermore, Alford, Kilsyth—Montrose and Leslie at Philiphaugh—Montrose escapes to Norway—Returns to Scotland and captured—The Uxbridge Conference—Battle of Naseby—King escapes to Wales—Trial of President Spottiswoode—Parliament refuses to recognise the King—Queen escapes to France.

REIGN OF CHARLES I.

A.D. 1625—1649.

On 25th November, 1641, the King on his return from Edinburgh was entertained in the Guildhall by the Lord Mayor and Corporation of London. The Queen and Royal family were present, and the lords and ladies of the Court, and the entertainment is said to have been on a magnificent scale. His Majesty was thereafter escorted to Whitehall, and next day he went to Hampton Court. There a petition was presented to him by the Commons to remove the bishops from the House of Lords by cancelling their power; to abolish the ceremonies in the liturgy, and remove such of his ministers as were suspected by Parliament of voting.

This movement grew to be of a formidable character, and twelve bishops petitioned against it. The House of Lords having read these, desired a conference with the House of Commons. On this being granted, it would seem that the latter took very little time to

CHARLES I.
King of Scotland.

(From a Portrait by Vandyck, in the Collection of the Earl of Pembroke.)

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consider the matter, but within half an hour they sent up to the Lords and accused the bishops who had signed the petition of high treason, on which the whole twelve were committed to prison, and remained in the Tower until the bill for putting them out of the House was passed, which was not for some months thereafter. In the House of Commons there was only one member who spoke on their behalf. "He did not believe they were guilty of high treason, but that they were stark mad, and therefore desired they might be sent to Bedlam."[1]

The bishops were subjected to much persecution by the mob. Between the city and Westminster, according to Clarendon, the rabble would make a stand before Whitehall, crying out: "No bishops, no bishops, no Popish lords; they would have no more porters' lodge, but would speak with the King when they pleased." When they came near the Houses of Parliament the mob took papers out of their pockets, and getting upon some place higher than the rest, would read the names of several persons under the title of disaffected members of the House of Commons, and called many persons "False, evil and rotten-hearted lords." Their rage and fury against the bishops grew so high that they threatened to pull down their lodgings where they lay; offered to force the doors of Westminster Abbey, which were kept locked for some time, and defended by a guard within. They assaulted some of the bishops in their coaches, laid hands on the Archbishop of York in such manner that if he had not been promptly rescued it was believed they would have murdered him. The bishops withdrew from Parliament for safety and sent a petition to the King protesting that they had a right to sit and vote in the House of Lords; and if protected from violence they were willing to perform their duty. They abjured Popery, but several times had been violently menaced, affronted and assaulted in coming to Parliament; had been chased away and put in danger

[1] Clarendon.

of their lives, and could find no redress though complaints had been made to both Houses. This petition the King sent to Parliament; the bishops because of it were indicted for high treason and put in prison, where they remained no less than eighteen weeks. On 17th January, 1642, a committee of the House of Commons tried the bishops before the House of Lords. The trial was very protracted, and it was not till 5th May that the sentence was pronounced releasing them on bail, the Archbishop of York finding bail for £5,000. No more was heard of the matter.

We come now to a more serious matter, and one that alienated the King from Parliament for the rest of his life. Herbert, the King's solicitor, informed the House of Lords on 2nd January, 1642, that the King commanded him to accuse Lord Kimbolton, a member of that House, and five leading members of the House of Commons, of high treason. These were Pym, chairman of Committees, Hollis, Hampden, Hazelrig and Strode. The King, whose indignation was aroused at their impeachment of Strafford, charged them:—That they endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, and deprive the King of his legal authority, and to give his subjects arbitrary power; that they endeavoured to alienate the affections of his people, and by many foul aspersions to make the King odious to them; they endeavoured to make the army disobedient to the King's command, and to side with them in their treason; they treasonably encouraged a foreign power to invade England; endeavoured to subvert the rights of Parliament, and have raised and countenanced tumults, and finally have conspired to levy war against the King. Concurrently with the reading of the charge, a serjeant-at-arms at the bar of the House of Commons demanded these five members to be delivered to him in His Majesty's name. This was not agreed to. It would further appear that some servants of the King, by special warrant, had gone to the apartments of some of the accused members and

sealed up their studies and trunks. On being advised of this, the House made an order that members subjected to such indignity, or the seizure of their persons, should call the aid of the next constable, to put such persons in safe custody till the House should give further orders. A message was sent to the King that the five members would be forthcoming as soon as a legal charge was preferred against them. Next day the King came to the House of Commons, leaving his guard outside the door. He and his nephew, Prince Rupert, entered the House, to the amazement of all; the Speaker, leaving the chair by the King's command, the King went into it. The King said that yesterday he had sent his serjeant-at-arms to apprehend certain members who by his command were accused of high treason. He expected obedience, but instead thereof he had received a message. No king of England had ever been more careful to maintain their privileges than he, but in cases of treason no man had privilege; and therefore he came to see if any of these members whom he had accused were there, for he was resolved to have them arrested. He would proceed against them in a fair and legal way; and having said so, he rose and left the House. The accused members had withdrawn from the House half an hour before his arrival. The King's resolution to visit the House, for the purpose of seizing the five members, had been privately made known to the Countess of Carlisle, sister of the Earl of Northumberland, recorded to have been a lady of "spirit, wit and intrigue." She sent word to the five members, and they had time to withdraw before the King's arrival. They left their apartments, however, and that night slept within the precincts of the city, which served as a sanctuary for them. Next morning the King ordered the Lord Mayor to call a meeting of the Common Council, and about ten a.m. the King, accompanied with three or four of the Lords, attended at the Guildhall, where the people were assembled. The King said he was sorry they should apprehend

danger. He was come to them to show how much he relied on their affections for his security, having brought no one with him; that he had accused certain men of treason, against whom he would proceed in a legal way, and therefore he presumed they would not shelter them in the city. He then told one of the sheriffs that he would dine with him that day, and then departed. On his way to Whitehall he was rudely assailed by a mob calling out in derision, "Privilege of Parliament," some of them pressing very near his carriage, while one loudly called out, "To your tents, O Israel," which much incensed the King. Next day he issued a proclamation for the apprehension of the accused members, forbidding anyone to harbour them. The King, taking these extreme steps without the authority of Parliament, was considered by the members of the House of Commons as endangering their liberties; and so at the reassembling of the House they resolved: "That the King's coming to the House, and demanding the persons of certain members to be delivered to him, was a breach of the rights and privileges of Parliament, and inconsistent with the liberty and freedom thereof. And therefore they could not, with the safety of their own persons, or the indemnity of the rights and privileges of Parliament, sit there any longer without a full vindication of so high a breach of privilege, and a sufficient guard;" and for that reason the House was adjourned for four days. The Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council sent a petition to the King pointing out that their fears were considerably increased by His Majesty's recent visit to the House, attended by armed men, for the apprehension of certain members of the House, to the endangering of his person and the persons and privileges of that assembly. The Commons declared that if any person should arrest the accused, or any other member of Parliament, by pretence of a warrant issued from the King without the consent of Parliament, he was guilty of a breach of the privileges of Parliament, and an enemy of the Common-

wealth: that the accused members should resume their sittings in the House, and they were required to attend the next day it was to sit, and continue to do so. The noise was so great of the preparations made in the city to bring the accused members in triumph to Parliament, that the King thought it desirable to move to Hampton Court, which he did, with his family and attendants, on 10th January. From London Bridge to Westminster the Thames was guarded with 100 lighters and longboats laden with ordnance, and ready for fighting if necessary.

The breach between the King and Parliament gradually grew wider by the King's persistent refusal to assent to the decrees of the House. There was a mutual want of confidence between them, and the King made up his mind to remove his residence to York in the interest of peace and safety. He arrived there on 30th March, 1642. In his last communication to Parliament before he went to York he said:—"He thought it necessary to publish that he expected and required obedience from all his loving subjects to the laws established; and that they presumed not upon any pretence of order or ordinance to which His Majesty was no party to do what was not warranted by these laws, he being resolved to keep the laws himself and to require obedience from all his subjects. It was a fundamental privilege that his subjects could not be obliged to obey any act, order or injunction to which he had not given his consent." This communication enraged both Houses, and intimation was made that the kingdom had been of late in imminent danger, both from enemies abroad and a discontented party at home; and being sensible of their duty to provide a suitable defence, Parliament addressed several petitions to His Majesty for the ordering and disposing of the militia. Yet they could obtain no redress, for the King refused to give his assent. At the very moment at which his subjects, after a long estrangement, produced by his maladministration, were returning

to him with feelings of confidence, he had aimed his deadly blow at their dearest rights and the privileges of Parliament. He had shown that opposition to his arbitary designs was a crime to be expiated only by blood. He had broken faith not only with his Great Council but with his people and his adherents. During the night which followed this outrage the city of London was in arms. In the Commons the Opposition became irresistible, and carried by more than two votes to one resolutions of violence. The gates of the King's palace were daily besieged by a furious multitude, and the King believing his liberty threatened, quitted London, never to return till the day of reckoning arrived.[1]

On 19th May, 1642, there was a declaration issued by Parliament as an answer to two despatches of the King, dated March, 1641,[2] and March, 1642. Both were full of reproaches. They found it very difficult to satisfy the King, who was possessed by misapprehensions which evil counsellors had wrought in him, so that their remonstrances had rather embittered than mitigated the sharp expressions he had made in reply to them. In the matter of the militia, they declared that if the King refused to join with them, the two Houses of Parliament being the supreme Court of the realm, were enabled by their own authority to provide for the defence of the kingdom. The King answered this deliverance in a long despatch of thirty-five printed pages, in which he made no concessions; maintained his position as having the power to accept or reject statutes passed by Parliament; reproduced the oath and proceedings connected with it at his coronation, and declined to recognise the authority of Parliament as laid down in the following ordinance:—That Parliament has an absolute power of declaring the

[1] Macaulay.

[2] The marriage of the Princess Mary with William, Prince of Orange, took place about this time (1641). The King concluded the alliance without consulting Parliament.

law, and what they declare ought not to be questioned by the King or any subject. It may dispose of anything for the public good wherein the King or his subjects have a right. They, without the King, are this Parliament; and His Majesty's consent is not necessary. The life and liberty of the subjects, and the laws made for their security, may at any time be disposed of or repealed by the majority of both Houses without the King's consent. No member of either House ought to be charged with treason or any other crime without the cause being brought before them, and leave obtained to proceed. The sovereign power resides in both Houses of Parliament, and His Majesty has no negative voice. On 2nd June, 1642, Parliament presented a list of nineteen propositions for the better government of the kingdom.

These propositions were the natural outcome of the circumstances in which Parliament was placed. The King was headstrong, unreliable, indifferent to the decrees of Parliament, and quite out of sympathy with the members of both Houses. Everything has not been recorded, but it is without doubt that under such a King the national administration was carried on with great difficulty. These propositions indicate pretty clearly what Parliament had to contend with: and such courageous proposals, expressed in a respectful manner, were acknowledged to be essential to the prosperity of the kingdom. What was their effect on the King? We are informed that he made an elaborate reply vindicating his position, as he had hitherto done, and repudiating the propositions. His policy was that of the dog in the manger; he would neither attend to the legislation of the kingdom, nor allow Parliament to do so on his behalf. In this way he aroused public indignation, and eventually lost his crown. His answer concluded in these words:—"These being passed, we may be waited upon bareheaded, we may have our hand kissed, the style of majesty continued to us, and the King's authority ratified by

Parliament may be still the style of your commands We may have swords and maces carried before us, and please ourselves with the sight of a crown and a sceptre; but as to true and real power we should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king."[1]

Parliament issued orders on 10th June for loans of money and plate in order to maintain troops to defend the kingdom. Within ten days vast quantities of plate were brought to the Treasurers. Hardly were there men enough to receive it, or even accommodation for it. Many were obliged to carry back their offerings and wait the Treasurer's convenience. Such zeal animated pious partisans of Parliament even in the city. The women gave up all the plate and ornaments of their houses, and even their silver thimbles and bodkins, in order to support the cause.[2]

During the King's residence at York, he is said to have had a princely establishment; and several members of both Houses of Parliament went there to attend his Court, and make a temporary residence. An extensive correspondence appears to have been kept up between Parliament and the King, of a personal and an irritating character, but the strong, perverse will of the King would not allow him to meet the wishes of Parliament, not even in the smallest particular, and this attitude daily made his restoration more impossible. Parliament was displeased at their members joining the King at York and neglecting their official duties; and ordained nine peers to be incapable of again sitting in the House, while members of the Lower Chamber were fined £100 each, and not again to resume their seats till examined by a committee and satisfied the House as to the cause of absence. On the impeachment of these Lords the House of peers delivered judgment, finding them guilty, and ordained that they neither sit nor vote in the present Parliament, nor enjoy its

[1] Campbell's Lives. [2] Hume's England.

privileges, and that they be committed to the Tower during the pleasure of the House. And so this matter ended. It was the beginning of the King's troubles, shadowed by Cromwell.

The strained relations between the King and Parliament compelled the latter to bring matters to a point, and on 12th July, 1642, they sent the following petition (condensed) to the King :—

With much sorrow we perceive that your Majesty, incensed by many false calumnies and slanders, continues to raise forces against us and your other loyal subjects, and to make preparations both in the kingdom and out of it, and by arms and violence to overrule the judgment and advice of your Great Council, and by force to determine the questions depending, concerning the government and the liberty of the kingdom. . . . We prostrate ourselves at your Majesty's feet, beseeching you to be pleased to remove all preparations for war ; dismiss troops and extraordinary guards ; that your Majesty will come nearer to your Parliament and hearken to their advice and petitions, which shall only tend to the defence of religion, your own honour and safety, and the preservation of our laws and liberties ; that your Majesty will leave delinquents to the course of justice, and that nothing done or spoken in Parliament be questioned anywhere but in Parliament. And we, on our part, shall be ready to lay down all those preparations which we have been compelled to make for our defence. We shall be ready to settle the militia by a bill honourable to your Majesty, agreeable to Parliament, and effectual to the good of the kingdom ; that the strength thereof be not employed against itself, and that which ought to be for our security applied to our destruction, and that Parliament and those who desire to preserve the Protestant religion may not be left naked and indefensible to the mischievous designs of those who are the professed enemies thereof.

The King sent a long reply to this petition, in which he asked, "What regard had been to his honour and safety when he had been driven from some of his houses and kept from some of his towns[1] by force? And what care had there been for the peace of the kingdom when endeavours had been made to put his subjects in arms against him? It is enough that the world knows what he has granted and what he has denied. For His Majesty raising forces and preparing for war, that has been in his own defence. Let the petitioners remember that His Majesty was driven from Whitehall for the safety of his life; that both Houses of Parliament, on their own authority, raised a guard for themselves. They usurped a power by their pretended ordinance against all principles of law over the whole militia of the kingdom against His Majesty's consent. A declaration was published that if he should use force for the recovery of Hull or suppressing the pretended ordinance for the militia, it should be held as levying war against Parliament. And all this was done before His Majesty granted any commission for raising troops. Let all the world judge who began this war, and on whose account the miseries which may follow must be cast. His Majesty stipulates that arms, levies and provisions for war made by Parliament be immediately laid down, and all power of imposing laws on the subjects without His Majesty's consent be disavowed. These being done, and Parliament adjourned to a safe and secure place, His Majesty promises, in the presence of God, that he will instantly and cheerfully lay down all the force he has raised and discharge the levies, so that there may be a general peace over the whole kingdom." On 16th July Parliament replied, declining to entertain the King's proposals. Both parties thereafter prepared for war, and at Nottingham on 25th August, 1642, the King erected his standard and issued a proclamation. On

[1] Hull.

the same day he sent a message to Parliament proposing a treaty of peace, its terms to be fixed by commissioners mutually chosen. Parliament declined the proposal in a despatch which stated that: "With much grief they resented the dangerous and distracted state of the kingdom which we have by all means endeavoured to prevent by our several advices and petitions, which have been not only without success, but there followed that which no council in former times hath produced nor any age hath seen, viz., these several proclamations against both Houses of Parliament, whereby their actions are declared treasonable and their persons traitors; and thereupon your Majesty hath set up your standard against them, whereby you have put the Houses of Parliament and the whole kingdom out of your protection. So that until you withdraw these proclamations whereby Parliament are declared traitors, and until the standard set up in conformity with these proclamations be taken down, we cannot give any other answer to your message." Despatches continued to pass between parties, but all to the same effect. Parliament resolved to send to Scotland for assistance, and sent commissioners to Edinburgh to negotiate a treaty of alliance. The Scots promised to aid their brethren in England on condition of uniformity of Church government, and a Solemn League and Covenant. They transmitted a form of it to Parliament at Westminster, when it was approved and ordered to be published.

On the 20th September the King, with his followers, and including his two sons, entered Shrewsbury, after which he proceeded to Worcester. The Parliamentary army, numbering 14,000, was commanded by the Earl of Essex. The Royal army, numbering 11,000, was under Lord Lindsay and Prince Rupert. On 23rd October both armies met at Edgehill, where a determined engagement took place, 5,000 reported as having been slain, two-thirds belonging to the

Parliamentary, and one-third to the Royal, army, Lindsay being among the slain. The King then proceeded to Oxford, where he resided and held his Court. The colleges, to enable him to prosecute the war, presented him with all the money they had in their treasuries, which amounted to a large sum. They had previously given him all their plate, so that it might be turned into money for his many requirements. He was always scarce of money. Both armies again met at Brentford, near London, where another engagement took place, when Prince Rupert, on behalf of the King, defeated Gen. Hallis and took many prisoners. The King then visited Hampton Court, where he remained a day. He then directed his troops to retire to Reading, after which he returned to Oxford. Here it would seem he calmly sat down and reflected on the unsatisfactory state of the kingdom, his own behaviour in running away from London, and the necessity of coming to terms with Parliament in the interests of peace. With this view he prepared a despatch, of which the following is a copy, and transmitted it to Westminster for consideration by Parliament. In the reply to this communication the hand of Cromwell is visible. Cromwell entered the House of Commons in 1640 as member for Cambridge, and from 1642 took a very active part in all its deliberations[1] :—

Oxford, 3rd March, 1643.—Out of our most tender and pious sense of the sad and bleeding condition of this our kingdom, and our unwearied desire to apply all remedies which by the blessing of God may recover it from utter ruin, by the advice of the Lords and Commons of Parliament assembled at Oxford, we desire that a convenient number of fit persons be appointed and authorised by you to meet with all convenient

[1] Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Chancellor, was present at Edgehill, in the rear among the non-combatants ; the King's two sons, the Prince of Wales and Duke of York, then boys of twelve and nine years of age, being in his care.

speed at such place as you shall nominate with an equal number of fit persons whom we shall appoint; and authorise to treat of the ways and means to settle the present distractions of the kingdom and to procure a happy peace. And particularly how the members of both Houses may securely meet in a full and free convention of Parliament to treat, consult and agree on such things as may conduce to the maintenance and defence of the Protestant religion, to the settling and maintaining of our just rights and privileges, of the rights and privileges of Parliament, the laws of the land, the liberty and property of the subject, and other expedients that may procure a firm and lasting peace in Church and State, and a perfect understanding betwixt us and our people wherein no endeavours of ours shall be wanting; and God direct your hearts in the way of peace. CHARLES R.

This message being signed by the King, was directed to the Lords and Commons of Parliament at Westminster. After two or three debates in the House with the Scotch Commissioner, without whose concurrence nothing was transacted, the following reply was sent to the King, which put an end to all hope of any possible accommodation:—

We, the Lords and Commons assembled in the Parliament of England, taking into consideration a letter sent from your Majesty of 3rd March, have resolved, with the consent of the Commissioner of Scotland, to represent to you as follows, viz.:—That as we have used all means for a just and safe peace, so will we never be awanting to do our utmost for procuring it; but when we consider the expressions in that letter we have more sad and despairing thoughts of attaining the same than ever; because those persons assembled at Oxford, who in violation of their duty have deserted your Parliament, are put into an equal condition with it. And the present Parliament,

convened according to the laws of the kingdom, is in effect denied to be a Parliament; the scope and intention of that letter being to make provision how all the members, as is pretended of both Houses, may securely meet. No other conclusion can be made but that this Parliament is not a full nor free convention, and that to make it so, the presence of those is necessary who, notwithstanding that they have deserted their trust and do levy war against Parliament, pretend to be members of both Houses. . . . Seeing the continuance of this Parliament is settled by law, which your Majesty has sworn to maintain, as we are sworn to allegiance to your Majesty, we must in duty, and accordingly are resolved, with our lives and fortunes, to defend the just rights and powers of Parliament, and beseech you to be assured that your hearty concurrence with us will be the most effectual means of procuring a firm and lasting peace and beget a perfect understanding between you and your people: without which your Majesty's most earnest professions must necessarily be frustrated. In case the kingdom remains in this sad and bleeding condition, tending by the continuance of this unnatural war to its ruin, your Majesty cannot be the least nor the last sufferer. God in His goodness, out of pity and compassion to these deep sufferings of your innocent people, induce you to put a speedy issue to these desperate evils by the joint advice of both your kingdoms, now happily united in this cause by the Solemn League and Covenant; which as it will prove the surest remedy, so it is the earnest prayer of the Lords and Commons assembled in this Parliament of England.

Westminster, 9th March, 1643.

This is probably as pitiable a condition of the administration of the Crown of England as is to be found in history. The King was wanting in wisdom, in generous sentiments, and so far as recorded, had no consideration for the feelings and opinions of his ministers. He disregarded the judgment of Parlia-

ment, his motto being, "I am King, I must be obeyed." His conduct in attempting to arrest and imprison Pym and other members of the House of Commons was a tyrannical and unconstitutional act, and was resented by both Houses. If he had shown any disposition to meet the views of Parliament all quarrels could have been healed up, but like other sovereigns of the House of Stuart who believed themselves immaculate, the King, in his own estimation, could do no wrong.

This year Queen Henrietta paid a short visit to Holland, where she pawned her own, and many of the Crown jewels, and gave the proceeds to her husband to pay his war charges. Parliament sent ships to intercept her, but she escaped them. She returned on 20th February, 1643, and landed at Burlington Bay in Yorkshire. There is a curious incident told of her at this crisis. She had scarcely landed and retired to rest when she was aroused by the roar of cannon, and was informed that her life was in danger. Four of the Parliamentary ships had entered the roads and commenced playing their cannon against the house where she was. So imminent was the danger that she was compelled to quit the house "bare foot and bare leg," and after a hazardous flight found shelter, along with her ladies, in a moat behind the town. But even here the danger was considerable, a soldier having been killed a few paces from where she stood. In the midst of the firing she remembered that she had left her favourite dog asleep in the house she had just quitted. Heedless of the danger she ran back to the town and secured the dog. She found her ladies still crouching in the ditch, nor was it till the tide ebbed that the balls ceased to play over their heads. After remaining in Yorkshire some time, it is recorded that at the head of 2,000 foot and 1,000 horse she subsequently joined the King at the Vale of Keynton, near the spot where the battle of Edgehill was fought. The Royal pair then proceeded to Oxford, where they were received with enthusiasm. The Queen and her ladies were lodged in

Merton College. After a residence of a few months at Oxford, the Queen, in consequence of the approach of the Parliamentary forces, took leave of the University and retired to Bath. She was accompanied by Charles as far as Abingdon, six miles from Oxford, in which town, on 3rd April, 1644, they bade each other a farewell which was destined to be their last. The Queen proceeded to Exeter, where on 16th June she gave birth to her youngest child, Henrietta, afterwards Duchess of Orleans. As soon as her health permitted she stole out of Exeter in disguise and after a painful journey reached Pendennis Castle at Falmouth harbour, only thirteen days having elapsed since her accouchement. Here she embarked in a Dutch vessel which conveyed her to France where she was joyfully received, and the Royal Château of St. Germains given her, formerly the residence of Mary Queen of Scots.

The Estates of Scotland assembled on 22nd June, 1643, to deal with the perplexing state of the kingdom, which presented a condition of something like anarchy. The Committee of Estates were reappointed, and the Local War Committee resumed their work in the counties. An army of 21,000 men was authorised to march south under the command of Leslie, Earl of Leven, accompanied by General David Leslie. On 5th August following, the Lords desired a conference with the Commons to consider certain propositions which they meant to put before the King. These were :—(1) That both armies be disbanded and the King entreated to return to Parliament on such security as would give him satisfaction. (2) That the question of religion might be settled with the advice of a Synod of divines in such manner as the King, with the consent of Parliament, should appoint. (3) That the militia, forts and ships of the kingdom be put into such hands as the King should appoint with the approval of Parliament, and his revenue to be wholly restored to him ; only deducting such part as had been of necessity expended for the maintenance of his

children, and not otherwise. (4) That all members of both Houses who had been expelled for absenting themselves be restored to their places. (5) That all delinquents prior to 10th January, 1641, be delivered up to the justice of Parliament, and a general pardon for all others on both sides. (6) That there be an act of oblivion for all bygone deeds and acts of hostility. It does not appear that these propositions were confirmed.

The Solemn League and Covenant dates four or five years later than the National Covenant, and figures largely in history at this period, since the signing of which Charles had broken with the English Parliament. It was meant to be the basis of an alliance between Scotland and the English Parliament. This famous document was subscribed by the people of all ranks in Scotland and England, including the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; was ratified by the General Assembly at Edinburgh 17th August, 1643, and the Scottish Parliament 15th July, 1644, and by Charles II. in 1650-51. While the National Covenant of 1639 was restricted to Scotland, the Solemn League and Covenant was more comprehensive, and embraced England, Scotland and Ireland, and provided for the extirpation of Popery and Episcopacy. The following is the text, slightly abridged :—

We, noblemen, barons, citizens, ministers of the gospel. . . . After mature deliberation have resolved and determined to enter into a Solemn League and Covenant, wherein we all subscribe and swear with our hands lifted up to the Most High God :—(1) That we shall through the grace of God endeavour to preserve the reformed religion in the Church of Scotland in doctrine, worship, discipline and government, against our common enemies; the reformed religion in England and Ireland according to the Word of God and the example of the Reformed Churches . . . that we and our posterity after us may live in faith and love, and the Lord may

delight to dwell in the midst of us. (2) That we shall in like manner endeavour to extirpate Popery, prelacy (Church government by bishops), superstition, heresy, schism, profanity, and whatever shall be contrary to sound doctrine and godliness. . . . (3) We shall, with the same sincerity, in our several vocations endeavour with our estates and lives to perserve the rights and privileges of Parliament, and the liberties of the kingdom, and to defend the King's person and authority, that the world may bear witness of our loyalty and that we have no intention of diminishing the King's power. (4) We shall endeavour to discover all who have been or shall be incendiaries, malignants, or evil instruments, by hindering the reformation of religion, dividing the King from his people, or one of the kingdoms from another, or making any factions contrary to the League and Covenant, that they may be brought to trial and punished as their offence shall deserve. (5) And whereas the happiness of a blessed peace between these kingdoms, denied in former times to our progenitors, is by the providence of God granted to us, and hath been concluded and settled by both Parliaments, we shall endeavour to see that they remain conjoined in a firm peace and union to posterity, and that justice may be done on the wilful opposers thereof. (6) We shall assist and defend all those who enter into the League and Covenant in the maintaining and prosecution thereof, and shall not suffer ourselves by combination, persuasion, or terror to be divided . . . but shall all the days of our lives zealously and constantly continue therein against all opposition. . . . And this Covenant we make, in presence of Almighty God, with a true intention to perform.

The General Assembly met at St. Andrews, 27th July, 1643, when strenuous efforts were made by the King and Parliament to secure its support. The King's

letter, delivered by Lord Dunfermline, expressed his resolution to govern the people of Scotland only by their own laws, and the Church by its own canons and constitution. Wherever anything was amiss, it should be reformed in a fair and orderly way; or where a reformation was settled, it should be maintained and defended against all trouble from without, and all heresies, sects and schisms arising within. Parliament expressed their disappointment that their labours for a due reformation in the Church and State had been interrupted by the plots and practices of a malignant party and ill-affected persons, especially the corrupt and dissolute clergy.

The Lord Mayor of London called a meeting of the Common Council, and they resolved if these propositions were agreed to, it would be destructive to religion and the laws and liberties of the realm; and that the Commons should pass an ordinance for the vigorous prosecution of the war. The Lord Mayor intimated this in the House of Commons, and his message was adopted. This was followed by a curious incident. A great multitude of wives of substantial citizens came to the House with a petition for peace. Thereupon a troop of horse, doubtless with the consent of the House, charged the women, and it is said killed some, wounded many, and dispersed the riot. Such disgraceful conduct was followed by several peers who were anxious for peace retiring from the House, and taking up their quarters at Oxford with the King. On 10th August, we are informed on the authority of the Peterkin Record, that the Commission of Parliament addressed the General Assembly of the Church:—"Through God's goodness our efforts have so far prevailed as to induce the removal of the High Commission; the making void the coercive power of the bishops and their courts; the ejection of bishops from the House of Lords; the turning out of many scandalous members."

This year the Duke of Hamilton and his brother William, Earl of Lanark, hastened to the Court at

Oxford, to tell a fair, though lamentable, tale respecting the ill-success which had attended their counsels. Montrose was there, and he increased the King's displeasure at Hamilton's miscarriages. Hamilton was arrested and sent as a prisoner to Pendennis Castle, Cornwall, and the confidence which had been placed in him transferred to Montrose.

In the matter of a Parliament at Oxford, Hyde, now Chancellor of the Exchequer, prevailed on the King to call a Parliament there as a rival to that at Westminster. It met at Oxford on 22nd January, 1644. Hyde was also leader of the House of 120 members, which met there in Christchurch Hall. He opened his budget detailing the mischiefs that arose from raising money by unlawful means, and showing the necessity for finding more regular methods for raising supplies for carrying on the war. He proposed that a contribution should be levied on the wealthy with their own consent; and that the Royalists should imitate the tax imposed on wine, beer and other articles. These ways and means were agreed to. This sitting of the Oxford Parliament concluded its session by the following resolution:—That the Lords and Commons remaining at Westminster having rejected all offers of peace, and having made war against the King, counterfeited the Great Seal, and abetted the Scots invasion, are guilty of high treason, and ought to be proceeded against as traitors to the King and kingdom.

On 19th January, 1644, Leslie, with his troops (Covenanters) crossed the Tweed and marched to Newcastle, which was held by a Royalist garrison. While the siege works or "approaches" moved on, work was found elsewhere for Leslie and his troops. Newcastle capitulated on 27th October, but in the interval the famous battle of Marston Moor, forced on by Leslie, took place on 2nd July, 1644. The Marquis of Newcastle, with the Royalist army, advanced to York, closely followed by the Scots. Fairfax and Lord Leven joining their forces at Tadcaster, proceeded to

York. The Earl of Manchester, at the head of 14,000 men, with Oliver Cromwell as his Lieutenant-General, were sent to the aid of Fairfax and Leven. Prince Rupert assisted the Marquis of Newcastle. On his approach, Manchester, Fairfax and Leven abandoned the siege of Newcastle, and on the last day of June drew up their forces at Marston Moor, five miles from York. The Prince gave the order for battle on 2nd July; 50,000 men were from all accounts engaged on this occasion. At seven p.m. the signal was given; the left wing of the Parliamentary army, under Cromwell and David Leslie, charged the right wing of the Royalists with great fury and drove them from the field in disorder. The Marquis of Newcastle's regiment stood firm, and after a desperate resistance was almost cut to pieces. But the right wing of Fairfax and Leven was overpowered by the Prince and his cavalry, and fled from the field. For a time the issue was doubtful. Cromwell received a wound in the neck, and it is said was carried off the field, but this is not confirmed. It would appear that his troops and those of Leslie rallied with renewed vigour, and at ten o'clock overpowered the Royalists, who retired; 3,000 of the vanquished were slain, and 1,500 taken prisoners. This battle was taken as the crisis of the war, as it gave Parliament the command of the North. The Marquis of Newcastle fled to the Continent in disguise, and the Prince and his scattered forces retired into Lancashire. The effect of this victory to the Parliamentary army was that some time after, in October, Newcastle capitulated. The English claimed the victory of Marston Moor for Cromwell and the Independents, the Scots for Leslie and the Presbyterians. James Graham, Marquis of Montrose, joined the English the day after. He and Argyll were foes. They were regarded as young men of unlimited ambition, and like Cæsar and Pompey, "the one would endure no superior, and the other would have no equal."[1] Montrose had been imprisoned in Edinburgh Castle with Atholl and

[1] Clarendon.

seven others, because in Argyll's tent on the ford of the Lyon they discussed a proposal to depose the King. He appeared before Parliament on 13th August, and was remanded to prison. He remained in confinement till the beginning of 1642, when he was liberated.

Montrose's plan was to get Leven's army of Covenanters out of England, where they turned the balance of war against the King. He was to make them find the necessity of returning home for the defence of Scotland.

The King, with an escort, left Oxford, and moved about from place to place without any fixed plan of operations. He shortly afterwards reached Exeter, where he found his infant child of whom the Queen had lately been delivered, under the care of Lady Dalkeith, afterwards Countess of Morton. He with his troops went to Falmouth, then to Oxford. About the end of 1644 Cromwell, who had hitherto kept himself in the background in Parliament, now came on the scene, and it is important to review the circumstances which brought him forward. He was evidently the leader of the party in the House of Commons opposed to any treaty of peace with the King. His policy was war to the knife.

The trial and execution of William Laud, the famous Archbishop of Canterbury, must be regarded as one of the most notable events in the reign of Charles. As indicating the turbulent character of the period, and the restless and disorderly condition of both Houses of Parliament caused by the behaviour of the King, the unfortunate Laud lay nearly four years in the Tower of London before he was brought to trial. He was accused of a design to bring in Popery and of having correspondence with the Pope, which was declared to be high treason. It would appear that he defended himself with great courage and less passion than was expected, answered all questions with clearness and irresistible reason, convinced impartial men of his integrity and his disapproval of all treasonable

intentions. His accusers failed to prove their indictment, and referred the matter to Parliament. Parliament issued an ordinance finding him guilty of treason and condemned him to death. Of all the prelates of the Anglican Church, Laud had departed furthest from the principles of the Reformation, and had drawn nearest to Rome. His understanding was narrow, and his dealings with the world small. He was by nature rash, irritable, sensitive of his own dignity, slow to sympathise with the sufferings of others, and prone to the error of making his own peevish and malignant moods emotions of pious zeal.[1] Sergeant Wylde, in concluding his speech for the prosecution, said: "This man, my Lords, is like Naaman the Syrian: a great man, but a leper," while another speaker said: "We know what he hath been charged with in this House: crimes of a dangerous nature, no less than the subversion of the government of the kingdom, and the destruction of the Protestant religion. Much of this is come before us on manifest proof. There is scarcely any complaint, but he is, as it were, twisted into it; like a busy angry wasp, his sting is in the tail of everything. He has been the common enemy of all goodness, and all good men, and it is not safe that such a viper should be near His Majesty's presence to distil his poison into his sacred ears; nor is it safe for the Commonwealth that he sit in so eminent a place of government, being thus accused. He is the corrupt fountain that hath corrupted all the streams, and till the fountain be purged, we can never expect to have clear channels. It is necessary that we go up to the Lords in name of the Commons of this House, and in name of the Commons of England accuse him of high treason, and desire their Lordships that his person be sequestered." The Lords ordained that Laud be committed to the custody of the gentleman usher, and that he be sequestered from the House until he shall clear himself of the accusation laid against him, and that no

[1] Macaulay.

member of the House visit him without leave of the House. The trial began 12th March, 1643, and ended on 29th July, 1644, and Laud, who was found guilty, as just stated, was immediately afterwards executed on Tower Hill.

Laud was the son of a clothier in Reading, and was born in 1573. He was created Archbishop in 1633. His persecutions would thus cover a period of seven years. The King, says the historian, was an unscrupulous dissembler. There never was a politician to whom so many frauds and falsehoods were brought home by undeniable evidence. He publicly recognised Parliament as legal, while he made a private meeting of council declare the recognition null. He publicly disclaimed all thoughts of calling foreign aid against his people, while privately he solicited aid from France and Denmark. He denied that he employed papists, at the same time he privately sent his generals orders to employ every papist who would serve.[1] On one occasion, a daughter of William, Earl of Devonshire, having been questioned by Laud as to her motives for leaving the Church of England for that of Rome, playfully replied that she disliked travelling in a crowd. Her meaning being obscure, Laud asked what she meant, to which she answered: "I perceive your grace and many others are making haste to Rome, and therefore to prevent being crowded, I have gone before you." Strafford and Laud were intimate friends. The night before Strafford's execution he sent a message to Laud to present himself at his window next morning as he was passing, so that they might wish each other a last farewell. Laud was not at the window, and Strafford said: "Give me leave to do my last observance towards his rooms." Laud, however, did appear, but being feeble, aged, and deeply affected at the contemplation of Strafford's death, it was not without difficulty that his attendants could lead him to the window. Strafford solemnly requested the prayer and

[1] Macaulay.

blessing of Laud, on which Laud, lifting up his hands to heaven, fervently blessed and prayed for him. A moment afterwards, overcome by grief and infirmity, he sank to the ground.[1]

A patent was issued making Prince Rupert Viceroy of Scotland, with Montrose as his lieutenant. This was in return for military success. The intention of Montrose was to march from England with a force sufficiently strong to make its way through Scotland until joined by the Highlanders or the Irish contingent. He, however, got but a small force, 800 foot and 3 troops of horse. With these he was able to do no more than harass the south-west of Scotland and drove the Covenanters out of Dumfries. His force was insufficient for his plans, and he resolved to find his way in disguise to the place where he would discover his supporters. He was dressed as a groom, and feigned attendance on Sir William Rollock and Colonel Sibbald, who virtually were in attendance on him. He thus arrived at Tullibelton, near Perth, where he met his kinsman, Graeme of Inchbrakie.

The battle of Tibbermore took place on 1st September, 1644, between the King's troops, led by Montrose, and the Covenanters, led by Lords Elcho and Tullibardine; the latter were, to a large extent, composed of the inhabitants of Perth. On both sides the troops were undisciplined, the Covenanters especially so. Montrose went from Tullibelton to Blair Castle, where he was joined by the Irish contingent under Alexander Macdonald, numbering 1,200 men. The Highlanders numbered 800, so that Montrose had a force of 2,000 rank and file. Here he raised his standard, and in Highland costume, at the head of his troops, he marched to Perth. At Buchanty, in Glenalmond, he was joined by the Menteith men, who numbered 1,000 more. The Covenanters numbered 4,000. Montrose's troops began the battle by discharging their pieces, and then threw them down, when all swept forward in a

[1] Jesse's Memoirs.

great rush; the Covenanters got confused, broke their ranks and scattered. The battle, in short, was a fiasco, a panic having seized the Covenanters, who fled to Perth. In the pursuit 400 of them were slain. It has been said that Lord Drummond's treachery was the cause of the Covenanters' defeat, as he afterwards went over to Montrose. This, however, requires confirmation. Montrose took possession of Perth the same night, and levied on the town a subsidy of 9,000 merks, stipulating for free quarters for his army for four days. He then went on to Aberdeen, as he knew Argyll was in pursuit of him.

Montrose reached Aberdeen with 1,500 men. Here he met the Covenanters in considerable strength under Lord Burleigh, whom he fought and defeated. The town surrendered on 13th September. This was Montrose's third visit. In the two former he had compelled the inhabitants to submit to the Covenant. Now he chastened them for having done so. For a short time in the North, Argyll and he were close to each other, but Argyll in the beginning of winter retired to Inverary, the passes there being almost impracticable.

In the midst of winter Montrose took his army over the mountains, where travellers have perished of cold even in summer, and pounced on Argyll, abiding in security on the banks of Loch Linnhe. The surprise was complete, and Argyll's followers fled to the hills. Argyll has been reproached for betaking himself to his galley instead of remaining at the head of his people. Montrose, after many privations, found his way to Dundee, and afterwards to Auldearn, Morayshire.

It was on the evening of 1st February, 1645, that Montrose came in sight of Inverlochy. The Campbells were soon aware of his approach, as it was moonlight, and very clear, and some skirmishes took place between the hostile forces, who lay upon their arms all night. Argyll, who had hurt his arm by a fall from his horse, and wore it in a sling, embarked in his barge and lay

there till next morning, sending his orders of discipline to Auchinbreck, and the rest of his officers commanding the battle. At sunrise next day the hostile armies put themselves in motion. The centre and reserve of Argyll's army were composed of his own clan. Montrose stationed one of the Irish regiments on each flank and the third in reserve, the Highlanders in the centre; 1,500 of Argyll's men, it is said, were killed in conflict or pursuit, while Montrose's loss was small.

Montrose continued to lay waste the North of Scotland in his zeal for Charles I. On 17th March, 1645, he appears to have burned the village of Durris, and carried off sheep and cattle. Fintray, in that locality, was served in the same manner. On 20th March he led his troops to Dunnottar, where he summoned the Earl Marischal to come out of the castle and join him in the King's service. The Earl Marischal declined to fight against his country, and on receiving this message Montrose set about burning and laying waste the lands, set fire to the town of Stonehaven, and to all the fishing-boats that lay in the harbour. The manse of Dunnottar, Fetteresso, and the village of Cowie shared the same fate. Rapine seemed the sole object of his followers. At Fettercairn Generals Baillie and Hurrie opposed Montrose, but though there was a skirmish no battle took place. Both armies resumed their march, and arrived respectively at Dunkeld and Perth nearly at the same time. On 9th May both armies met at Auldearn, when Montrose gained a great victory. It is said that between two and three thousand men were slain in this engagement, and that there were no prisoners. Nairn and Elgin were plundered thereafter by Montrose, and Cullen laid in ashes.

Both parties then proceeded north, and again met and prepared for battle at Alford (2nd July), each side numbering 2,000. The Covenanters were again defeated, but Montrose had to lament the loss of his able general, Lord Gordon, who was slain. Montrose proceeded south, and on 13th August met the Covenanters at

Kilsyth with 5,000 men, when the Covenanters again fared worst. At this engagement Montrose threw off his coat and waistcoat, tucked up the sleeves of his shirt, at the same time drawing his sword with ferocious resolution. His cavalry threw off their upper garments, while the infantry stripped themselves naked even to the feet, and in this state were ready to rush upon their opponents before they could take up the places assigned to them. It is said that this battle was a mere massacre —a race of fourteen miles, in which space 5,000 men were cut down and slain.

After Montrose's victory at Kilsyth he lay at Bothwell. There Sir Robert Spottiswoode, formerly President of the Court of Session, now Secretary of State for Scotland, appeared in his camp, bringing with him a commission from the King, under date, Hereford, 25th June, 1645, appointing Montrose Governor and Lieutenant-General of Scotland, with new and extended powers. General Leslie, hearing of Montrose's success, retired from Hertford, and pushed on to Scotland to intercept him. In the beginning of September Leslie crossed the Tweed at the head of 4,000 horse, and came upon him at Philiphaugh (12th September, 1645), and defeated him, Montrose losing 1,000 men, and narrowly escaping with his life. It is said that Leslie abused this victory by his slaughter of prisoners ; some being shot in the courtyard of Newark Castle on the Yarrow. When Leslie appeared Montrose was writing despatches to the King during the night into the morning, when he heard firing. He rode off instantly to his troops in time to order a resistance. His troops were attacked on both sides simultaneously, and were mostly cut down and fled. Wishart, his chaplain, affirms that many of the fugitives were precipitated from a high bridge into the river and drowned, and a number of the wives and children of the Irish soldiers were put to death in this way at Linlithgow. The captives of high rank were reserved for public trial. Colonel O'Kyon and Major Lauchlin were hanged on the castle hill of Edinburgh,

and Sir William Rollock, Ogilvy of Inverquharity, and Sir William Nisbet, were executed at Glasgow in the end of October.

The reports of this engagement are conflicting. Another report says the battle was fought in the forenoon of next day, 13th September. Before the action began Leslie had despatched a body of foot round a hill on his right, which, at a given signal, could fall on Montrose's left flank and rear. When the moment came Leslie led a charge at the head of his own regiment, and attacking them in front and rear the troops of Montrose were thrown into confusion.

Montrose escaped from Philiphaugh with a few followers, and in due course arrived in Atholl, where he raised 400 men. In December he laid siege to Inverness, but on the approach of General Middleton he was obliged to make his escape into Ross-shire. In May, 1646, he was informed of the King's surrender to the Scottish army, and received the King's order to disperse his troops and withdraw from the kingdom. On 3rd September he sailed for Norway, and from there he went to Paris and Germany. Here he received news of the death of the King, and on the accession of Charles II. he received a commission to invade Scotland. From Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein he received money, ammunition and men, and on his arrival in the Orkneys in March, 1650, with 1,500 troops, he marched to the hill of Ord in Sutherlandshire, and then proceeded to the neighbourhood of Tain. Here he was entrapped by the Earl of Sutherland and Colonel Strachan, totally defeated, and 400 of his men taken prisoners. Montrose made his escape, exchanged clothes with a peasant, and throwing away his cloak and sword wandered among the hills on foot. He was shortly after captured by the Laird of Assynt, handed over to his enemies, and conveyed to the capital. On the way, at the house of Kirkaldy of Grange in Fife, he had a change of raiment, and by the assistance of an old lady nearly effected his escape.

Montrose deserted the Covenanters because he disapproved their policy, and joined himself to the King's party. He was a brilliant adherent of the King in respect of his great success as a military commander. Being a favourite at Court, he was, in 1644, created first Marquis of Montrose, in recognition of his distinguished services.

Early in 1645, it was resolved by Parliament that the King should be again approached on the subject of peace. Commissioners were chosen on both sides, and after communication with the King, who assented to the proposal, the Commissioners at the close of January, 1645, met at Uxbridge, sixteen miles north-west of London, in the house still pointed out as the "Old Treaty House and Crown Inn," where the matter was discussed. At this conference the Scottish Parliament were represented by four Commissioners, with Alexander Henderson to represent the Church. In the quaint old building selected for this famous meeting, there was a fair-sized room in the middle of the house handsomely and specially prepared, and a large square table in the centre with seats for the Commissioners; one side being sufficient for those of either party, and a rail for others who should be present, which went round. The conference met to discuss the abolition of Episcopacy; confirmation of the Acts of the Clergy at Westminster; and lastly, Charles to sign the Covenant. It sat for twenty days but accomplished nothing, and its proceedings terminated in an unsatisfactory manner for all concerned. The failure of the conference compelled both sides to appeal to arms. Fairfax, who had laid siege to Oxford, abandoned the undertaking, and on 12th June, 1645, came up with the King at Harboro', and during the night killed the sentinels of the Royal camp. Early next morning, Fairfax put his troops in motion, and at Naseby found the King's army drawn up in battle array on a rising ground. The battle was begun by Prince Rupert, nephew of the King, who, with his usual impetuosity, charged the left wing of the enemy

under Ireton, threw them into disorder, and drove them from the field. Ireton was wounded and taken prisoner. The infantry of either side hardly saw each other till they were within carabine shot. After one volley the King's infantry fell on them with their swords and the butt-ends of their muskets, with which they did execution, and put the enemy in disorder. The Royalists' right wing of horse and foot being thus fortunately engaged, the left wing under Langdale advanced with equal resolution, and was attacked by Cromwell, who commanded the right wing of the enemy's horse. The Royalists gave way, and four of Cromwell's divisions pursued them to prevent them rallying again. Prince Rupert, with the right wing, pursued the enemy's horse, whom he had broken and defeated. The King's reserve of horse, which was his own guard, with himself at the head of them, were ready to charge the enemy who pursued his left wing, when on a sudden such a panic seized them that they fled from the battlefield. The King was compelled to quit the field, and to leave the enemy masters of his foot, cannon and baggage, amongst which was his cabinet where his secret papers were; such portions of which were afterwards printed as would benefit the rebels and condemn him. This was an unfortunate battle for the King; above 150 officers of the first rank were slain, while the enemy in pursuit slew upwards of 100 women, many of them wives of officers.[1] It is recorded that the total number slain on both sides was 5,000. The King was in trouble after this battle, and on 28th June sent the following letter to his son :—

If I should at any be taken prisoner I command you never to yield to any conditions which are dishonourable, unsafe for your person, or derogatory to the Royal authority, though it were for the saving of my life; which, in such a case, I am most confident is in greatest security by your constant resolution, and not a

[1] Clarendon.

whit the more in danger for their threatening unless thereby you should yield to their desires. But let their resolutions be never so barbarous, the saving of my life by complying with them would make an end of my days with torture and disquiet of mind. . . . Your constancy will make me die cheerfully, praising God for giving me so gallant a son. I charge you keep this letter safe by you until you have cause to use it, and then, and not till then, to show it to all your council.

CHARLES R.

The King then proceeded to Cardiff, afterwards to Brecknock in Wales, where, on 5th August, 1645, he wrote his son:—

It is very fit for me now to prepare for the worst. . . . Wherefore know that my pleasure is whenever you find yourself in apparent danger of falling into the rebels' hands, that you convey yourself to France, and there be under your mother's care, who is to have the full power of your education, except religion; and in that not to meddle at all but leave it entirely to your tutor, the bishop of Salisbury. And for the performance of this I command you to require the assistance of your council, and by their advice the service of everyone whom you and they shall think fit to be employed in this matter, which I expect should be performed with all obedience without grumbling.

CHARLES R.

It does not appear that the Prince obeyed this order. The King thereafter went to Welbeck, where the Governor of Newark and the commissioners for Nottingham and Lincoln resorted to him, and assured him that they were as ready as ever to serve him. He then proceeded to Doncaster (August, 1645), where his supporters raised 3,000 troops, and undertook within twenty-four hours to appear well armed, and accompany the King wherever he might go. The news of General

Leslie and the Scots being within ten miles of Doncaster compelled the King to fall back on Newark, thence on Oxford. Thereafter Leslie pursued his march to Scotland, overtook and defeated Montrose at Philiphaugh, 13th September, 1645, as already referred to, and returned in time to relieve the Scottish forces after they were compelled to retire from Hertford. The King from Oxford went to the relief of Hertford. Bristol, of which Prince Rupert was governor, capitulated after four days' siege. The King was highly incensed at this, and in a letter to Prince Rupert, of 14th September, the King sent a revocation of all commissions formerly granted to Prince Rupert because he surrendered Bristol, and signified his pleasure to the Lords of the Council at Oxford, whether the Prince had retired with his troops from Bristol, that they should require him to deliver into their hands his commission. As the Prince was a favourite with the people, the King gave offence by this high-handed proceeding. The King was anxious that Prince Charles should go to France for safety, and in the middle of October he wrote Lord Culpepper that—

Lord Goring must break through to Oxford with his horse, and from thence, if he can find me out wherever he shall understand I shall be, the region about Newark being as I conceive the most likely place. But that which is of more necessity, indeed absolute, is that with the best convenience, the most secrecy, the greatest expedition Prince Charles be transported to France, where his mother is to have the sole care of him in all things but one, which is his religion, and that must still be under the care of the bishop of Salisbury, and this I undertake his mother shall submit to. CHARLES R.

The affairs of the King were becoming desperate. The Lords opposed the Prince going out of the country, believing that his presence constituted a source of security. The movements of the King were strictly

watched by Cromwell. He proposed to go to Worcester, but he found the enemy were there. He then went to Chester in the hope of going to the North of England and Scotland. He was intercepted at Chester, and a battle was fought there, when he was defeated. The defeat broke up all the body of horse which had attended him from the battle of Naseby, and who fled in order to save themselves. After the battle of Chester he went to Wales. His unfortunate position was very much his own fault, and the removal of the Court to Oxford was another blunder.

This year took place the trial and condemnation of a distinguished Scotsman, Sir Robert Spottiswoode, President of the College of Justice, son of the Archbishop. He was taken prisoner by Leslie at Philiphaugh. The trial took place in the Parliament held at St. Andrews, and the crime charged against him was high treason. It was not sufficiently proved, but notwithstanding that, he was condemned to be executed, to the great regret of the Scottish nation. The historian says the execution of Spottiswoode was peculiarly unjust. He had framed the commission to Montrose, and had signed it, and accepted the office of Secretary, which the Parliament had formerly conferred on Lanark. He was convicted, therefore, of an obsolete treason, because he impugned the authority of the Three Estates; but his sentence may more truly be ascribed to his supporting Montrose against the English Parliament.

In December, 1645, the King resolved to sue for peace, if that were possible, and in a despatch to Parliament he said: "Since all other overtures had proved ineffectual, he desired to enter into a personal treaty with both Houses, and the Commissioners of the Scottish Parliament, on all matters that might conduce to the peace and happiness of the kingdom. To that purpose he would come to London with an escort not exceeding 300 persons, if he might have the approval of Parliament, the Scots Commissioners, and the chief

officers of both armies for his free and safe coming to, and abode in London, for forty days, and after that for his safe return to Oxford if a peace should not be concluded." To this a prompt answer was sent, "that the personal treaty required by the King after so much innocent bloodshed in the war by his commands and commission, they conceived, until satisfaction and security were first given to both kingdoms, his coming thither would not be convenient, nor by them assented to. Nor did they apprehend it a means conducing to peace to accept of a treaty for a few days, with any thoughts or intentions of returning to hostilities again. They would shortly send some bills to him, the signing of which would be the best way to procure a good and a safe peace." They further published an ordinance "that if the King should, contrary to the advice of Parliament, come, or attempt to come, within the lines of communication, the committee of the militia should raise such forces as they think fit to prevent any tumult that might arise by his coming, and to suppress any that should happen; and to apprehend any that should come with him or resort to him, and to secure his person from danger. All who had ever borne arms for His Majesty should immediately leave London, under penalty of being proceeded against as spies." It is safe to say that this communication, which prevented the restoration of peace, was dictated by Cromwell.

Queen Henrietta Maria had gone to France for safety, and her son, Prince Charles, a youth of sixteen years, had gone to the Scilly Isles for a short period. A letter which shows the brilliant intellect of the Queen was, on 6th April, 1646, sent by her from Paris to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir Edward Hyde, as follows:—

My Lord Culpepper must witness for me that I have patiently heard all that he could say concerning the condition of Scilly, and all that has been proposed for rendering the abode of the Prince of Wales there safe;

yet I must confess that I am so far from being satisfied that I shall not sleep in quiet until I shall hear that the Prince shall be removed from thence. It is admitted that it is not sufficiently fortified and is accessible in divers places; while the maning of the works will require 1,000 men more than you have, and for ought I see, you can procure. Neither can you be confident that the loss of Cornwall may not suddenly have a dangerous influence on that garrison, most of your soldiers being of that country. The power of Parliament at sea is so great that you cannot rely on the seasonable and safe conveyance of such supplies of provisions as so great a garrison will require. I need not remind you of what importance to the King and all his party the safety of the Prince's person is. If he should fall into the rebels' hands, the whole would thereby become desperate; therefore I must importunately conjure you to manage this work as the principal service you can do for the King, me, or the Prince. Culpepper will tell you how I have strained to assist you with provisions, shipping, and money necessary for the Prince's removal to Jersey, where, be confident of it, he shall want nothing.

In the first session of the first triennial Parliament of Charles I., the Estates, considering that the profanation of the Sabbath is occasioned by keeping fairs on Saturday and Monday as it was by keeping weekly markets on those days, do therefore intimate and discharge all burghs and towns of keeping fairs on Saturday or Monday, under the penalty contained in the act passed in 1640 against keeping weekly markets on those days. In 1646 an act was passed for having a school in every parish, ordaining the heritors to provide the same, as also schoolhouse and salary.

CHARLES I.
King of Scotland.

(*From a Portrait by Daniel Mytens, in the National Gallery.*)

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CHAPTER IV.

King's surrender to General Leslie—His surrender to the English—Seizure of the King by Cromwell's Army—Kidnapping of the King—Proclamation disapproving—Declaration of the Scottish Parliament—The King and his Children—Impeachment of eleven Members of Commons—Escape of the King to the Isle of Wight—Captured and imprisoned—Antagonism of Scottish Parliament—King to be prosecuted—His release demanded—Battle of Preston—The Earl of Traquair—Isle of Wight Conference—Parliament and Cromwell quarrel—House of Commons: Members seized—Arrested members led in Triumph—Cromwell's Parliament—Impeachment and trial of the King—Bradshaw's speech giving sentence—Execution of the King—His Character and Family—Executions of Hamilton, Holland and Capel.

REIGN OF CHARLES I.

A.D. 1625—1649.

THE unfortunate King suffered many privations, many of which are not recorded. After the battle of Naseby, he is reported as wandering about without a place to lay his head; sometimes he starved; sometimes the entry in the journal is "dinner in the field." "No dinner," is the entry for several successive days, and another, "Sunday, no dinner; supper at Worcester—a cruel day"; another entry, "His Majesty lay in the field all night." When the King and his exhausted attendants were wandering among the mountains of Wales, he was glad to dine on a pullet and some cheese; the goodwife who ministered to his wants having but one cheese, and the King's attendants being importunate in their hunger, she came in and carried it off from the Royal table."[1] Often the King rode

[1] Sir Henry Slingsby.

hard through the night and saw the break of day, which only recalled him to anxious cares, or retreat, or a pursuit. Once, late in the evening, he dismissed some followers with these words: "Go you and take your rest; you have houses and houses, and beds to lodge in, and families to love and live with, but I have none." He sometimes compared himself to a partridge hunted on the mountains. But he said: "As God has given me afflictions to exercise my patience, so hath He given me patience to bear my afflictions."

The battle of Naseby and subsequent events could not but seriously affect the King's prospects, which it did, and led to the upsetting of all his plans. On 27th April, 1646, in view of the highly critical condition to which the political troubles had reduced him, he selected two companions to accompany him in his wanderings. These were Dr. Hudson, a clergyman, and John Ashburnham, his groom of the bedchamber, and he finally left Oxford. The King was disguised as the servant of Ashburnham. Their first stage was Dorchester; afterwards proceeding as near to London as Brentford, the ancient Saxon capital. Proceeding next to Lancashire, they in the course of their pilgrimage arrived at the Scottish camp at Newark, Nottinghamshire, where the King, as a last resource, surrendered himself to General Leslie. It is recorded that at Newark, on one occasion, at divine service, the preacher gave out Psalm lii. (ed. 1633), which commences:

Why dost thou, tyrant, boast abroad,
Thy wicked deeds to praise?
Dost thou not know there is a God,
Whose mercies last always?

As soon as the words were uttered, the King rose from his seat and proposed to substitute Psalm lvi., same version, which begins:

Have mercy, Lord, on me, I pray,
For man would me devour.
He fighteth with me night and day,
And troubleth me each hour.

The worshippers supported the King, and sang the more appropriate verses.

The Scots had three courses open to them:—They might set him at liberty to go abroad; they might carry him with them to Scotland; or they might surrender him to the English Parliament. To have permitted him to go abroad would probably have involved the renewal of civil war; to have taken him into Scotland would have endangered every advantage they had gained at the expense of treasure and blood. The alternative of handing him over to the English was in the interest of both kingdoms.[1] There is probably nothing to be said against this opinion, but it was the duty of the Scots in surrendering their sovereign to make a proper stipulation as they did for the safety of his life.

Fairfax, Cromwell's Lieutenant-General, arrived at Oxford five days after the King had gone, and was much disappointed he had missed the opportunity of capturing him. On 15th May, 1646, the Scottish troops moved north to Newcastle, which had been captured by them some time before, in order that they might more effectually protect the King and keep him to themselves. During his abode with the Scots at Newcastle he devoted much of his time to discussions with one of the Scots divines, Alexander Henderson, on the fundamental principles of Church government, especially whether the order of the primitive Church was prelatic or Presbyterian. The King remained with the Scots army upwards of eight months. They could not take him to Scotland without incurring war with England, but from the earnestness of their endeavours to gain over the King to the Presbyterian cause, it is clear that had he accepted that alternative they would have faced this formidable war.[2] When Parliament learned where the King was they requested Leslie to deliver him up, and return to their own country, as the war was at an end; but the request was refused. In July Parliament sent propositions of peace to the King, and after protracted negotiations the King replied: "No

[1] Hume Brown. [2] Hill Burton.

condition could be half so miserable and grievous to him as that which they would persuade him to reduce himself to, and therefore bade them proceed their own way; though they had all forsaken him God had not." Parliament, having received this answer, ordered the Scots to quit the kingdom and deliver the King into the hands of such persons as they would appoint. The Scots denied that the English Parliament had power to dispose of the person of the King without their leave; and Parliament replied that they, the Scots, had nothing to do in England but to obey their orders, and they would exact obedience if they refused to yield it. The result of this acrimonious discussion was that the Scots, who were instructed by the Scottish Parliament not to take the King to Edinburgh, agreed to deliver him to the English Parliament for £400,000, of which £200,000 to be paid down, and payment of remainder on dates to be agreed upon.[1] In this manner the King was surrendered to his enemies on 8th January, 1647, transferred to Holmby, near Northampton, where he remained five months, and the Scots army returned to Scotland. He was treated with respect and attention, but made to know he was a prisoner; what displeased him most was the dismissal of his chaplains, and Presbyterian ones put in their places. He refused to attend their devotions, preferring to read his Prayer-book in his bedroom.

On 14th January, 1647, the King submitted a paper to the Scots Commissioners desiring to know if he was a free man or a prisoner; to this he got an evasive answer. Two days after, the Scottish Parliament, in spite of the opposition of Hamilton and his friends, agreed to deliver up the King to the English Parliament. When this resolution was carried, Hamilton gave a decided negative, the Earl of Crawford, President of Parliament, in signing the warrant of surrender, recorded his solemn protest against it as an individual, and the Earl of Lanark, Hamilton's brother, declared:

1 Clarendon.

"As God shall have mercy on my soul at the great day, I would choose rather to have my head struck off than give my consent to this vote."

The surrender of the King by Leslie is a matter that has given rise to some controversy. So far as can be learned the English Parliament were owing the Scots a large sum of money, stated by one historian[1] at two millions sterling, for military services rendered by the Scottish army in England, in aiding, by request, the English troops to fight and capture the King. To maintain such a large force in England was an expensive operation, and Leslie had entirely failed in getting any money from the English Parliament to pay his troops. The King, surrendering to Leslie, put Leslie in a very delicate position, Leslie being on English ground, paid by the English Parliament, consequently was not in a position to refuse to surrender the King without running the risk of himself and his troops being annihilated. He therefore resolved that this was the time to demand payment of what England was owing, and that sum was assessed at the amount just named—£400,000.

We come now to a curious incident in the narrative: the forcible seizure of the King by the army. Parliament and the army were not altogether in sympathy, for although Cromwell was the head of the latter, his influence in Parliament was not absolute, for Episcopalians and Presbyterians alike were opposed to him. Cromwell posed as an independent in civil and religious matters. It would appear that on 3rd June, 1647, Joyce, a cornet in the army, went to Holmby with a squadron of horse about break of day, and without any interruption from the guard knocked at the King's chamber door, and said he must presently speak with the King. The King, much surprised, rose out of his bed, and half-dressed, caused the door to be opened, which he knew otherwise would be quickly broken open. As soon as the door was opened, Joyce and two or

[1] Hume.

three more came into the chamber with their hats off, and pistols in their hands. Joyce told the King that he must go with him. The King asked whither. Joyce: "To the army." He asked where the army was, and was told they would carry him to where it was. The King asked by what authority. Joyce: "By this!" and showed him his pistol, desiring the King at the same time to get dressed, because it was necessary they should make haste. None of the other soldiers spoke a word. The King said he could not stir before he spoke with the committee to whom he had been delivered and were trusted by Parliament, and desired one of those who waited upon him to call them. The committee had been as much surprised by the noise as the King had been, and quickly came to his chamber, and asked Joyce "whether he had any orders from Parliament." He said "No." From the general, "No." What authority had he? He held up his pistol. They said they would write to the Parliament to know their pleasure. Joyce said they might do so, but the King must presently go with him. Colonel Brown had sent for some of the troops who were appointed for the King's guard, but they came not. He then spoke to the officer who commanded the guard on duty, and found they would make no resistance. The King then breakfasted, went into his carriage attended by some of his servants, and went away with Joyce. Parliament were immediately advised of this extraordinary incident. The general of the army wrote, explaining that the King's removal was without his consent, or of the officers about him, or of the army; that he would take care for the security of the King's person from danger, and assured them that the army desired peace, and were far from opposing Presbytery or affecting independence, or maintaining a licentious freedom in religion, but were resolved to leave the determination of all to Parliament. Parliament was much displeased at the seizure of the King, and issued a proclamation that they desired to bring the King in honour to his Parliament; which

was their business from the beginning; that he was detained prisoner against his will in the army, and that they had great reason to apprehend the safety of his person. The army replied that the King was neither prisoner, nor detained against his will, and appealed to His Majesty and all his friends who had access to him, whether he had not more liberty, and was treated with more respect, since he came into the army, than he had at Holmby or with that retinue that the Parliament had appointed. The Corporation of London went with Parliament and against the army. Parliament was afraid lest the army should make an agreement with the King, and unite with his party, a combination that would have been serious. Parliament afterwards tried to persuade the King to own his being detained prisoner by the army against his will; or withdraw himself in some way from them, and return to Whitehall. The army was indifferent about the authority of Parliament until the Corporation joined it, when they felt that the result might be to stop the pay of the army.

The Scottish Parliament, at this serious crisis issued the following declaration :—Whereas it pleased God to join the kingdoms of Scotland, England and Ireland in solemn league and covenant, for Reformation and the defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the King, and their own peace and safety. In pursuance thereof, the Scots army being in England, the King came into their quarters before Newark, and proposed to come with a full and absolute intention to give all just satisfaction to the desires of both kingdoms, and with no thought of continuing the war any longer, or make division between the kingdoms. . . . Seeing the Parliament of England has communicated to the Scots Commissioners at Newcastle their resolution that Holmby House, Northampton, is the place which both houses think fit for the King to come to, there to remain with such attendants as Parliament shall appoint, respect being held to the safety and preservation of his person. . . . The Estates declare their

concurrence with the King going to Holmby House, or some other house in or about London, there to remain till he gives satisfaction to both kingdoms in the propositions for peace ; and that in the interim there be no harm, violence or injury done to his person ; that there be no change of Government, and that his posterity in no way be prejudiced in their lawful succession to the crown ; and as this is the clear intention and full resolution of the kingdom of Scotland, according to their interest and duty to the King, they are confident the same is the resolution of their brethren.[1]

The King desired to see his children, and Fairfax wrote Parliament, "that the King much desired to have the sight and company of his children, and that if they might not be allowed to be longer with him, that at least they might dine with him," and he sent them word that on such a day "the King, who attended the motion of the army and was quartered only where they pleased, would dine at Maidenhead." There his children met him to his infinite joy, and he being to stay some time at Lord Craven's house in that neighbourhood, the children were allowed to go there, where they remained two days. This great favour the King imputed to the civility of Fairfax, and the good disposition of the army. Cromwell was present at the first interview, and afterwards described the scene to Sir John Berkeley as one of the most affecting he ever witnessed.

On 15th June, 1647, at the instance of General Fairfax, commander of the army, eleven members of the House of Commons—Hollis, Stapleton, Lewis, etc.—were impeached as traitors and delinquents ; that is to say, they took the side of the King against Parliament, induced the King to raise forces to defeat Parliament and promote dissension and disaffection in the kingdom, and were in communication with the exiled Queen in France ; there were no less than twenty-five counts in the indictment. After eighteen months protracted negotiations between Parliament and General Fairfax

[1] Acts of the Scot. Par.

of a highly acrimonious nature, both sides became unreasonable, and Parliament declined the demands of Fairfax or the army. The latter, at the end of the negotiations, said: "Having, with others, for a long while sadly beheld and tasted in your proceedings the miserable fruits of councils divided and corrupted by faction and personal interest, even to the neglecting, betraying and casting away all public good; to the lengthening out of endless troubles; the continuance and widening of that issue of blood whereby the nation has been so long polluted and consumed; and seeing no other or better way we demand as follows:—These eleven members, on clear proof against them, were by your censure expelled the House; on new writs being issued new members were chosen and returned in some of their places, and yet by the influence of their faction, when in last summer's wars, several members were engaged abroad on public service, and others through disturbances could not safely attend the House. The same persons were afterwards readmitted to sit in the House and vote as formerly without any trial or satisfaction in the things whereof they were accused. We therefore demand that these members so impeached may be forthwith secured and brought to justice, and such others of their faction excluded from the House." The House refused to be dictated to, and Parliament and the army quarrelled.

The Speakers of both Houses and various members retired and went over to the army, whereupon the Houses chose new Speakers, and the Commons voted that these eleven members impeached by the army should appear and take their places as formerly. The army was indignant at this; the General sent a party of horse who advanced to Windsor and appointed the rendezvous of the army to be at Hounslow Heath. The force amounted to 20,000. The King was removed to Hampton Court, which was prepared specially for his reception. The Lord Mayor and Common Council met and resolved to submit to the army, and at Hyde

Park they met the General and congratulated him on his arrival, and as a testimony of their affection and duty the Mayor, on behalf of the city, presented a gold cup to the General, which he sullenly refused to receive, and with very little ceremony dismissed them. The General waited on the two Speakers and conducted them and other members to the two Houses, where the other members were sitting. When the old Speakers entered the House they resumed their places, and entered on business as if nothing had occurred since they were there before. The General was called in and thanked for the protection he had given them and his vindication of the privileges of Parliament. They then voted that all that had been done by themselves in going to the army, and all that had been done by the army, was well and lawfully done; also, that all that had been done by both Houses since their departure was against law and the privilege of Parliament, invalid and void. They then adjourned. The King at Hampton Court had great liberty, was visited by his children often, and without restraint. He was also frequently visited by Cromwell, and by his old friends and acquaintances.

Hallam,[1] in referring to the King's surrender, says:—

To carry him back with their army to Scotland, besides being equally ruinous to the English monarchy, would have exposed the Scots to the most serious danger. To undertake his defence by arms against England as the Royalists desired, would have been a mad and culpable renewal of the miseries of both kingdoms. He had voluntarily come to their camp; no faith was pledged; their very right to detain his person seemed open to much doubt The circumstance which has always given a character of apparent baseness to this transaction is the payment of £100,000 made to them so nearly at the same time that it has passed as the price of the King's person. This sum was part of a larger demand, as the score of arrears of pay, and had been agreed upon

[1] Constitutional History.

long before we have any proof or reasonable suspicion of a stipulation to deliver up the King. That Parliament would never have actually paid this sum on any other consideration, there can be no kind of doubt, and of this the Scots must have been fully aware. But whether there were any such secret bargain as has been supposed, or whether they would have delivered him up if there had been no pecuniary expectation in the case, is what I cannot perceive sufficient grounds to pronounce upon with confidence, though I am much inclined to believe the affirmative of the latter question.

The King was surrendered on the condition that no harm be done to his person, and that his posterity should be no way prejudiced in their lawful succession to the throne. The payment of a large sum of arrears due to the Covenanting party by the English taking place at nearly the same moment, exposed the Scots to the reproach of having sold their King.[1]

On 11th November, 1647, pretending to be indisposed, the King retired at an early hour to his own chamber. When all was quiet, accompanied by Ashburnham and two other companions in disguise, he passed through the vaulted passages of the palace into the garden, where a private door admitted them to the river where a boat was in readiness which conveyed them to Thames Ditton, at which place horses awaited them. Having wandered at least ten miles out of their proper course, it was daybreak when they reached the inn at Sutton. From that place they went to Titchfield, a seat of the Earl of Southampton ; the Countess Dowager was the King's personal friend. They then resolved to go to the Isle of Wight. In the meantime the inmates at Hampton Court were astounded when they discovered the King's flight. Parties of horse and foot were instantly despatched to search the neighbourhood, when information arrived that the King was at the Isle of Wight. By some fatal mistake

[1] Lives of the Lindsays.

Hammond, the governor of the island was thought a person of honour and generosity enough to trust the King's person to. Before allowing the King to cross over, his two companions, Ashburnham and Berkeley, went over to discuss the situation with Hammond, and told him the King was willing to trust himself to him provided, if occasion required, he would allow the King to go whither he thought fit, and would not deliver him to Parliament or the army. Hammond replied that he would pay all the respect to the King that was in his power, and would receive and entertain him as well as he could, but that he was an inferior officer, and must obey his superior. On further debate these men agreed to conduct Hammond to Titchfield, where the King was. A more foolish step could not have been conceived, or one more fatal to the prospects of the King. When the King knew Hammond had arrived he said to Ashburnham: "Oh, Jack, thou hast undone me." Ashburnham offered to kill Hammond, but the King would not allow him. The King went with these men very reluctantly to the Isle of Wight. On landing there he passed the first night at Cowes, but next day was conducted by Hammond to Carisbrook Castle. A bowling-green was made for his recreation, a recreation he much enjoyed; but it is recorded that a great portion of his time was passed in studying the Bible. He was confined some months in Carisbrook Castle, and entertained more than one project for escape, one of which nearly effected his purpose.

Cromwell in due course advised the House of Commons. Parliament sent a message to the King asking his assent to four acts of Parliament. By one he was to confess the war to have been raised by him against Parliament, and so that he was guilty of all the blood that had been spilt. By another he was to totally dissolve the government of the Church by bishops, and to grant all the lands belonging to the Church to such uses as they proposed. By a third he was to grant and settle militia in the manner and on

the persons proposed. In the last he was in effect to sacrifice all those who had served or adhered to him to the mercy of Parliament. The King gave the commissioners who presented the bills many unanswerable reasons why he could not assent to the four bills, which not only divested him of all sovereignty, and left him without any possibility of recovering it by himself or his successors, but opened a door for intolerable oppression of his subjects by granting arbitrary and unlimited power to both Houses. Neither the desire of being freed from the tedious and irksome condition of life he had long suffered, nor the apprehension of anything that might befall him, should prevail with him to consent to any one act until the conditions of peace should be concluded between them. The commissioners then left him. The effect of the King's answer was that Hammond dismissed his servants, and put a strong guard to restrain anyone from approaching the King without authority. This in plain terms was making the King a prisoner, which was keenly resented by the Islanders, and Captain Burly, a native, put himself at their head and determined to rescue the King by force. He caused a drum to be beaten, and the mob cried: "For God, the King and the people." At the instigation of the King's servants it was stopped, and the people returned to their homes. Burly, however, was arrested by Hammond, found guilty of treason, and executed.

Parliament resolved, on the motion of Cromwell, that they might enter on those councils which were necessary for the settlement of the kingdom without further recourse to the King. A proclamation to that effect was made to the people. The next event was a meeting of the general officers of the army at Windsor—Cromwell presiding—to consult what should be done with the King. It was resolved that the King should be prosecuted as a traitor, and one of the officers was told off to advise the King. The Scottish Parliament took a very different view of the situation, disapproved

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of the treatment of the King, and expressed their determination to protect and restore him by force of arms. They also demanded the English Parliament to pay up the debt of £200,000 due to the Scots for the surrender of the King, and at Carisbrook Castle on 26th December, 1647, the Scots Commissoners—Loudoun, Lanark and Lauderdale—had a conference with the King, and got him to sign, along with them, an agreement of which the following is the substance. It was a direct negative to the resolution of Cromwell:—"Forasmuch as His Majesty is willing to give satisfaction concerning the settling of religion and other matters, the kingdom of Scotland doth oblige and engage itself to endeavour that the King may come to London in safety, honour and freedom, for a personal treaty with the Houses of Parliament, and the Commissioners of Scotland, on such propositions as should be mutually agreed to between the kingdoms, and such propositions as the King should think fit to make. For this end armies should be disbanded. In case this should not be granted, declarations should be emitted by the kingdom of Scotland against the unjust proceedings of Parliament towards the King; in which they would assert the right that belongs to the Crown in the power of the militia, the Great Seal, bestowing of honours and offices of trust, choice of the Privy Councillors, and the right of the King's negative voice in Parliament; and that the Queen, the Prince and rest of the Royal family, ought to remain where the King should think fit, in either kingdom with safety, honour and freedom. On the issue of this declaration an army should be sent out of Scotland into England for the preservation and establishment of religion, for defence of the King's person and authority, and restoring him to his government and the just rights of the crown; for the defence of the just privileges of Parliament and liberty of the subject; for making a firm union between the kingdoms under the King and his posterity, and settling a lasting peace. Those in England or Ireland who

would join Scotland in this matter should be protected by the King in their persons and estates. . . . The King to make no agreement or treaty whatever without the consent of Scotland. . . ."

The Scottish Parliament got no satisfaction from England for this discreet and well-considered proposal, but rather it might be said they were treated by Cromwell's Parliament in a contemptuous manner. They accordingly adopted prompt measures, and at a meeting on 2nd March, 1648, determined on war, and appointed a committee to watch over the safety of the kingdom. Out of fifty nobles only nine or ten were for the Covenant, of barons one-half, while commoners of large towns went with Hamilton. Resolutions were agreed to enumerating the breaches of the Covenant of which England had been guilty, the various wrongs done to Scotland, and violation of the treaty, and the slights shown to Scottish Commissioners. A declaration was drawn up embracing the substance of these resolutions, regretting the violation of the Covenant, and expressing a determination to enter into no alliance with those who should refuse to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant; and not to make any agreement with the King until he should solemnly swear to give his assent to such acts as Parliament should prescribe in favour of the Covenant and the Presbyterian form of worship. In spite of these protestations, which were manifestly insincere,[1] the Covenanters resolutely opposed the war with England. On 11th April they sent what was virtually an ultimatum to the English Parliament, in which they demanded the liberation of the King, the disbanding of the army, and the establishment of Presbyterianism in accordance with the Solemn League and Covenant.

Notwithstanding all this, feeling ran so high that no arrangement of any kind could be come to. In this state of matters war was inevitable, and on 17th August, 1648, the Scottish forces took the field under James

[1] Taylor.

first Duke of Hamilton, an ill-equipped and badly disciplined army of 15,000 men, and entered England by the west border. The English Royalists were not permitted to join the Scots. It is said that Hamilton was incapable of commanding this enterprise; and at a critical time he loitered away forty days travelling eighty miles. His forces, instead of being concentrated, were scattered over many miles, and when the main body reached the banks of the Ribble, near Preston, Munro with Hamilton's Irish contingent lay thirty miles off, at Kirby in Westmoreland. After an obstinate resistance against overpowering odds, Sir Marmaduke Langdale was obliged to fall back on Preston. At the entrance to the town he was joined by Hamilton with a few horse, but in such disorder as to add to the confusion of the retreat. The fight was renewed in the streets and continued to the bridge, where a determined stand was made by the Royalists, "but at length," says Cromwell in his despatch, "they were beaten from the bridge, and our horse and foot following them, killed many and took divers prisoners." In the course of the night Hamilton hastily retreated, the whole army being in a state of disorder and dismay, leaving behind their artillery and baggage. At Warrington the foot under General Baillie surrendered to Cromwell on condition that their lives were spared. Hamilton, with his officers and 3,000 cavalry, fled to Uttoxeter where he was intercepted by Lambert and compelled to surrender.

One of the most devoted and loyal friends of the King was John Stewart, first Earl of Traquair, and a direct descendant of the Black Knight of Lorn. He was created a peer at Charles's coronation in Edinburgh, and in 1635 was appointed Lord High Treasurer of Scotland. In 1639 he was the King's High Commissioner at both the Parliament and the General Assembly. It is said that in his high station he asserted the King's prerogative with great firmness and intrepidity, and made enemies to himself. He was impeached for treason in 1641, but was pardoned by

the King, though he lost his estates. The King's faith in him was unbounded, and on the occasion of his pardon the King wrote him:—

Traquair, I have thought fit by these few lines to assure you that I am so far from having chased you away as a delinquent that I esteem you to be as faithful a servant as any I have, believing that the greatest cause of malice that you are vexed with is for having served me as you ought; therefore I desire you to be confident that I shall both find a fit time for you to wipe away all these slanders that are now against you, and likewise to recompense your by-past sufferings for my service; so you shall truly see that I am your assured friend, CHARLES R.

He was with the King in Oxford in 1644, and afterwards at his own expense he raised an army in Scotland to defend the King, and fought at the battle of Preston in 1648, when he was defeated and taken prisoner, and for four years confined in Warwick Castle, but was thereafter liberated by Cromwell. His family possess many specimens of Charles's letters, of which we may give the following:—

YORK, *7th May*, 1643.

Traquair, I am so confident in your affection to my service that I have commanded the bearer to follow your directions in all he is sent about; and you have not hitherto deceived my expectation; the conjunction is considerable in the business; therefore what is to be done must either be now or not at all.—Your assured friend, CHARLES R.

NEWCASTLE, *15th June*, 1646.

Traquair, I have so fully instructed this trusty bearer, Robert Car, that I will only tell you that I long to see you, which, if I had publicly expressed it, might have hindered what I desire.—Your most assured constant friend, CHARLES R.

When the news of this disaster reached Scotland the leaders of the Covenanters resolved to take advantage of it to eject the Committee of Estates from the Government. Argyll and the Covenanting nobles placed their forces under Leslie, and made application to Cromwell for assistance, which he gave them. After the battle of Preston Cromwell continued his march into Scotland, and on 5th October appeared in Edinburgh, and had a friendly supper with Argyll and Johnston of Warriston in Moray House in the Canongate. In his absence the Common Council delivered a petition to Parliament that "they would entertain a personal treaty with the King that the kingdom might be restored again to a happy peace." Parliament was not disposed to refuse this request, as it came with the unanimous voice of the council. They appointed a committee to meet with the Common Council to confer as to the ways and means of providing for the King's safety during the time of the treaty. Parliament eventually declared that they would enter into a treaty with the King, and commissioners, to ascertain his opinion, were sent from both Houses to Carisbrook Castle, where he had been a prisoner for six months. The King received them very graciously, pointed out the privations he had endured, and cheerfully accepted the terms of the proposal of Parliament which he hoped they did really intend should be performed. He desired them first to revoke their votes and orders, by which all men were prohibited from writing or speaking to him. Parliament agreed to the King's request, and declared that the vote for no more addresses should be repealed, that the treaty should be at Newport, and that the King should be there in the same freedom as he was at Hampton Court; that the instructions to Hammond restraining the King and forbidding all persons from speaking to him should be recalled, that these persons named by the King should have free access to him, and remain without being questioned. Parliament nominated five Lords and ten Commoners to treat with the King with

all expedition. These commissioners lost no time, and arrived in the Isle of Wight on 15th September. No one was permitted to be present but the King and commissioners. At last they were contented, and the King was obliged to be contented too, "that they might stand behind a curtain and hear all that was said, and when the King wanted advice, he would retire to his chamber and call those to him with whom he would advise." The King's hair had turned grey with his six months' captivity. During this conference Cromwell and the army were in Scotland, and Parliament desired the treaty to be carried through before his return. In spite of the representations of the commissioners, the King protracted the conference for more than two months. The commissioners presented their first proposition that "the King would revoke all declarations and commissions granted heretofore by him against Parliament." The King passed this. The second proposition, "the abolition of Episcopacy and all jurisdiction exercised by bishops; the Covenant which was presented to His Majesty to take himself, and to impose it on all others; the abolition of the common Prayer-book and liturgy; the reformation of religion should be settled by Parliament." The King agreed to suspend Episcopacy for three years; he would not force any man to take the Covenant, but would use the Prayer-book in his own chapel; those who desired might have liberty to take the Covenant and use the Directory. The third proposition regarding the militia was agreed to, as was also the fourth concerning Ireland. The King proposed to Parliament that he should have his liberty, his revenue, and an act of oblivion for the commissioners, but Parliament gave him no answer. The King, conceiving the treaty to be closed, desired the commissioners to use the same eloquence and abilities by which they had prevailed with him in representing to Parliament the sad condition of the kingdom if it were not preserved by this treaty. Next morning they informed him that the treaty by

order of Parliament was extended fourteen days. The conference eventually closed its proceedings on 25th November, which indicates what protracted debates must have been going on to occupy so much time. The King must not be blamed for the result of this conference, as he was a prisoner, and was simply bullied into acquiescence. On the last day of the sittings, being pressed, he agreed to suspend the Episcopal power as well in point of ordination of ministers as of jurisdiction, till he and the two Houses should agree what Government should be established for the future.

It is stated by some writers that the commissioners were still in conference with the King when Cromwell's messengers interrupted the proceedings to tell him he must remove. The charge surprised him not so much as it did the commissioners. The King heard the message with such resolution as moved their compassion, and more especially when taking his leave of them he said:—"I believe we shall see one another no more; God's will be done; I have made my peace with Him, and accept all that man can do to me with resignation; you now see you are involved in my ruin; I wish you better friends than I have found. I am no stranger to what is practised against me and mine; but all that troubles me not so much as the evils that threaten my people through the unbounded ambition of those who seek to raise themselves under colour of the public good."

It would appear that three of the King's attendants prevailed upon him to try and make his escape. The scheme, though very ingenious, failed for want of secrecy. The men were arrested and tried, and, wonderful to relate, got off for want of proof. Hammond at the same time desired to be relieved of his office of keeper of the King's person. Cromwell released him, and sent one of his officers, Colonel Eure, to succeed him. This officer, by Cromwell's orders, removed the King on 1st December to Hurst Castle, on the mainland. This was a stronghold

built in 1535 by Henry VIII. for the defence of the Solent.[1] At this audacious proceeding Parliament and Cromwell quarrelled. Parliament protested against the seizure of the King without their authority, and sent a despatch to Cromwell that the order and instructions to Colonel Eure were contrary to their resolution and instructions to Hammond, and therefore it was the pleasure of the House that he should recall these orders and replace Hammond. Cromwell behaved disrespectfully, and without taking notice of this communication he ordered Parliament to proceed no further with the treaty; demanded payment of the arrears due to the army; unless instantly sent, he should be forced to remove the army and draw nearer London. Thereupon the army marched to Whitehall. The House of Commons showed their courage. In spite of Cromwell and his extraordinary proceedings, they asserted the treaty; that the King's answers were satisfactory; and after a violent debate of three days, voted 140 against 104 that the House ought to accept the concessions of the King, and proceed to the settlement of peace. Next morning, 6th December, Colonel Pryde, on behalf of Cromwell, at the head of two regiments of soldiers, surrounded the House of Commons, and arrested and placed in confinement 41 members of the Presbyterian party. Above 100 more were excluded in the two following days, and the number of members was reduced to about 50.[2] These members who usurped the name of Parliament bore the appellation of "the Rump." The Commons, thus purged, repealed the late resolutions, declared the

[1] Nothing could be more dismal than Hurst Castle. This lonesome spot, jutting out into the ocean and severed from all concern with human life, seemed a suitable scene for some murder such as the King had received intelligence was meditating against him. The room, or rather den, in which he was immured was so dark that candles were needed at noonday. —(Strickland.)

[2] This was the famous extinction of the Long Parliament, sometimes nicknamed "Pryde's Purge."

King's concession unsatisfactory, confirmed the vote against more addresses, and resolved that by the laws of the realm it is treason in the sovereign to levy war against the Parliament and kingdom of England.

Those members of the House of Commons who were in ward were afterwards led in triumph through Westminster Hall by a strong guard to that place under the Exchequer, at that period called "Hell," where they might eat and drink, at their own charge, what they pleased. Here they were kept till midnight, after which they were taken to several inns, where they were lodged as prisoners for two or three days. Afterwards there was an order of the House that none of them who had not been present that day when the negative vote was taken should sit any more in the House until they had subscribed the same vote. Many of them, from indignation, did not enter the House for years, some not before the Revolution, and others sooner or later returned to their old seats. Then the House renewed their old votes of no more addresses and cancelled those who introduced the treaty, while the most active Presbyterians in the House were committed to prison. Cromwell, having now a clear majority in the House after the forcible exclusion of these members, considered the time had arrived for establishing a new Government. He therefore resolved to terminate this Parliament on 30th April, 1649; also, that there should be a representation of the nation of 300 persons chosen by the people, of which, for the term of seven years, no person who adhered to the King or should oppose this scheme should be capable of being chosen; and before the dissolution of the present Parliament, it would be necessary to bring delinquents to exemplary punishment, beginning with the King, who had caused all the miseries which had befallen the kingdom, and whom they had already divested of all power to govern them in future. It was fit that such a man of blood should be brought to justice, that he might undergo the penalty that was

due to his tyranny and murders, that, being in their power, he might not escape the punishment that was due to him. These were Cromwell's sentiments. The state of matters created profound amazement. The Queen wrote from France for permission to come over and stay with her husband, but Cromwell gave her no answer. He instructed a committee of his own choosing to draw up an impeachment of high treason against the King. This was read to the Commons, who were all Cromwell's supporters, and approved. It was then sent to the Peers, but not one person in that House approved of it. They unanimously rejected it and adjourned for a week. When the week's adjournment was up, the Lords found the doors locked and fastened with padlocks. Nor did any of them thereafter sit in that House above twice or thrice. The King was now transferred, by Cromwell's orders, from Hurst Castle to Windsor, thence to St. James's. When he left Windsor he was conducted through a double line of soldiers to the round tower, where his carriage was in waiting to receive him and take him to St. James's; he was strictly guarded. On 9th January, 1649, to the astonishment of the citizens of London, a sergeant-at-arms rode into Westminster Hall, and with the sound of drum and trumpets solemnly announced the forthcoming trial of the King.

Cromwell brought an ordinance into the House of Commons nominating certain persons for the King's trial, which being tendered to the House of Lords, was refused. Notwithstanding this, the Commons, on 4th January, 1649, proceeded without the Lords, and chose commissioners. As no court recognised by law would take upon itself the responsibility of judging the King, it was necessary to create a special tribunal; and a high court of justice was therefore constituted, consisting of 133 persons, which included the officers of the army, four peers, the Speaker and the other members of the "Rump" Parliament. Bradshaw, a lawyer of Gray's

Inn, was appointed President, and was paid £4,000 to enable him to support his dignity and equipage on the occasion. He also had the temporary use of the Dean's house in Westminster to secure his safety. Seventy-one commissioners was the largest number who ever assembled; forty-eight only were present when sentence was announced; and the warrant for his execution was signed by fifty-nine. The twelve judges unanimously refused to sit on the tribunal, as being contrary to every principle of English law. The trial took place in Westminster Hall on 20th January, 1649. Sixty of the commissioners only answered to their names. When the name of Fairfax was called out, a voice in the gallery answered: "Not such a fool as to come here to-day." At a subsequent stage of the proceedings, when the charge against the King was stated to be in the name of the people of England, the same voice exclaimed: "Not one half-quarter of them; it is false; where are they? Oliver Cromwell is a rogue and a traitor." Some writers give a different version of this, viz.: "It is a lie; scarce the tenth part of the people of England have any hand in this crime, which is brought about by the contrivance of the traitor Cromwell, who is there." It was discovered that these exclamations proceeded from Lady Fairfax, wife of the general of Cromwell's forces, who, from among a group of masked ladies, in this manner declared her resentment at the conduct of the King's enemies. Axtel, Cromwell's lieutenant, immediately shouted to his soldiers: "Fire! Fire into the box where she sits." Amid a dead silence a lady rose and quitted the gallery, and the matter dropped. The King, who appeared for trial, was informed by the court that the Commons of England assembled in Parliament were sensible of the great calamities brought upon the nation, and of the innocent bloodshed, which was referred to him as the author of it. According to that duty which they owe to God, the nation and themselves, and that power and trust reposed in them by the people, have constituted this

court of justice, before which he was now brought, and that he was to hear his charge, on which the court would proceed according to justice. The King was charged with having been the cause of all the blood that had been shed since the commencement of the war; of the divisions among the people; waste of the public treasury; a design to erect a tyrannical Government, and overthrow the liberties of the people. They therefore impeached him as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and an enemy to the Commonwealth. The impeachment being read, Bradshaw desired him to answer. The King said he would first know of them by what authority they presumed by force to bring him before them, and who gave them power to judge of his actions, for which he was accountable only to God. He would not so much as betray himself and his Royal dignity as to answer anything that they would say against him, which were to acknowledge their authority, though he believed that everyone of them in their consciences absolved him from all that was said against him. He declined to recognise the authority of the court; he saw no appearance of the Upper House, which was necessary to constitute a just Parliament; even both Houses, though free and united, were not entitled to try him; he was their hereditary King, and derived his authority from God. He was himself the fountain of law, and could not be tried by laws to which he had never given his assent; having been entrusted with the liberties of the people, he would not now betray them by recognising a power founded upon usurpation. He was three times produced before the court, and as often declined its jurisdiction. On the morning of the last day of the trial, Bradshaw's wife rushed into his (Bradshaw's) private chamber at Westminster, where he had been lodged for safety and convenience, and solemnly beseeched him by his hopes of happiness here and hereafter to absent himself in future from Westminster Hall: "Do not," she said, "sentence this earthly King for fear of the dreadful

sentence of the King of heaven. You have no child; why should you do such a monstrous act to favour others?" Bradshaw: "I confess he hath done me no harm, nor will I do him any except what the law commands." The King was not allowed to answer to the indictment. The trial lasted seven days, when sentence of death was delivered by Bradshaw, in the following terms:—

Sir, you speak very well of a precious thing which you call peace. It was much wished that God had put it into your heart that you had really effectually endeavoured and studied the peace of the kingdom as now in words you seem to pretend; yet your actions have been quite contrary. You have gone upon very erroneous principles; the kingdom hath felt it; and it will be no ease to you to think of it, for you have held yourself, and let fall such language, as if you had in no way been subject to the law; or that the law had not been your superior. The law is your superior, and you ought to have ruled according to law. Your pretence has been that you have done so; but the question has been, who shall be the expounders of the law? Whether you and your party outside the courts of justice shall expound it, or the courts of justice who are the expounders. The sovereign, the High Court of Justice, the Parliament of England, are not only the highest expounders, they are the makers of the law. Do you set yourself and those who adhere to you against the highest court of justice? That is not law. As the law is your superior, so there is something superior to the law, and that is the authors of the law, the people of England. . . . The King is but an officer in trust, and he ought faithfully to discharge that trust. Parliaments were ordained to redress the grievances of the people; that was their main end. If so be that the kings of England had been rightfully mindful of themselves they were never more in majesty and state than in the Parliament. Parliaments were to be held in old times twice a year, but in the days of your predecessor,

Edward III., they were altered to once a year. What the interval of Parliaments hath been in your time is very well known, as also the sad consequences of it; and what in the interval, instead of these Parliaments, hath been by you by a high and arbitrary hand introduced upon the people. But when God by His providence had so far brought it about that you could no longer decline the calling of a Parliament; yet it will appear what your intentions were against your native kingdom of Scotland; the Parliaments of England not serving your purposes against them, you were pleased to dissolve it. Another great necessity occasioned the calling of this Parliament, and what your designs and plots have all along been for the crushing and confounding of this Parliament hath been notorious to the whole kingdom. And truly, sir, in that you did strike at all, that had been a sure way to have brought about what this charge lays upon you, your intention to subvert the Parliamentary laws of the realm, the great bulwark of the liberties of the people in the Parliament of England, and to subvert and root up that which it was your intention to do, had confounded at one blow the liberties and property of England. We read of a great Roman tyrant, Caligula, who wished that the people of Rome had one neck that at one blow he might cut it off. Your proceedings have been somewhat like his; for the body of the people of England hath been represented but in Parliament, and could you but have confounded that, you had at one blow cut off the neck of England. But God hath reserved better things for us, hath confounded your designs, broken your forces, and brought your person into custody, that you might be responsible to justice. . . . There is a contract made between the King and people and your oath is taken, and certainly the bond is reciprocal, for as you are the liege Lord, so are they the liege subjects. The one bond is the bond of protection that is due from the sovereign, the other is the bond of subjection which is due from the subject. If this bond be once

broken, farewell sovereignty. These things may not be denied, sir. I pray God it may work upon your heart that you may be sensible of your misgivings. Whether you have been as by your office you ought to be, a protector of England, or the destroyer of England, let all England judge, or all the world that hath looked upon it. Though you were King by inheritance, yet it must not be denied that your office was an office of trust, and an office of the highest trust, reposed in any single person. You were the grand administrator of Justice, and others were your delegates to see it done throughout the realm, your greatest offices were to do justice and preserve your people from wrong; instead of doing that you were the great wrongdoer yourself; if instead of being a conservator of the peace you are the grand disturber of the peace; surely this is contrary to your high office and trust. If your office be one of inheritance, as you say, let all men know that great offices are seizable and forfeitable, as if you had it but for a year, or for your life. Sir, it will concern you to take into your serious consideration your great misdemeanours. I shall not particularise them. It had been happy for the kingdom and happy for you too if it had not been so much known and so much felt. That which we are now upon by command of the highest court is to try and judge you for these great crimes. You are charged as a tyrant, a traitor, a murderer, and an enemy to the Commonwealth of England. It had been well if any or all of these terms might rightly and justly have been spared. Sir, the term traitor cannot be spared. We shall easily agree it must denote and suppose a breach of trust, and it must suppose it to be done to a superior, and therefore when you broke faith with the kingdom you broke your trust to your superior. The Court could heartily desire that you would lay your hand upon your heart and consider what you have done amiss; that you would endeavour to make your peace with God. These are your high crimes, tyranny and

treason. There is a third thing, murder, laid to your charge. All the bloody murders which have been committed since the time that the division was between you and your people must be laid to your charge; it is a heinous and crying sin. If any man will ask us what punishment is due to a murderer, let God's law, let man's law, speak. I will presume that you are so well read in Scripture as to know what God hath said concerning the shedding of man's blood. The Court are sensible of that innocent blood that hath been shed, whereby the land stands still defiled with that blood. It can no way be cleansed but with the shedding of the blood of him that shed this blood. We know no dispensation from this blood in that Commandment, "Thou shalt do no murder." We do not know but that it extends to kings as well as peasants; the command is universal; God's law forbids it; man's law forbids it; nor do we know that there is any exception, not even in man's laws, for the punishment of murder. The weight that lies upon you in all these respects by your tyranny, treason, breach of trust, and murders that hath been committed, surely, sir, must drive you into a sad consideration as to your eternal condition. It cannot be pleasing to you to hear any such things as those mentioned to you by this Court. The Court does humbly desire that you will seriously think of these charges that you stand guilty of. You said well to us the other day, you wished us to have God before our eyes; truly, sir, I hope all of us have so; that God who we know is a king of kings and lord of lords; that God with whom there is no respect of persons; who is the avenger of innocent blood; who bestows a curse on those who withhold not their hands from shedding of blood, and who do deserve death: that God we have before our eyes. We do heartily wish and desire that God will be pleased to give you a sense of your sins, that you would see wherein you have done amiss, that you would cry unto Him that he would deliver you from blood-guiltiness.

The Clerk then read the sentence of death, at the conclusion of which the King desired to reply, but Bradshaw, in a harsh and unfeeling manner, would not allow him. The King evidently did not believe they would dare to proceed to this extremity Three days were allowed the King between the sentence and his execution (30th January). This interval he passed chiefly in reading and devotion. Such of his family as were in London were allowed access to him — the Princess Elizabeth and the Duke of Gloucester; the latter was a child. The King charged the Princess to tell the Queen that during the whole course of his life he had never once, even in thought, failed in his fidelity towards her. On the morning of the execution, at ten a.m. the King was conveyed through a window of the banqueting chamber of Whitehall Palace[1] to the scaffold, where, declaring himself to die an innocent man, he prayed that his enemies might repent, and that his death might not be laid to their charge. He had not taken up arms until after Parliament had enlisted forces. He declared his sentence to be unjust; and further declared his attachment to the Protestant religion as professed by the Church of England. His last words were: "I go from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can take place."

He was beheaded in front of Whitehall: and at a respectful distance there was an immense crowd whose sympathies were with the unfortunate King. By the majority of the people of England the execution was regarded as an atrocious murder. In Scotland the enemies of the King only desired to bring him to reason; they entirely disapproved of the execution. The Scots commissioners, in protesting against it, said: "How hard a thing it is to proceed against their King, not only without, but against, their advice and consent; that his person was entrusted by that kingdom to the Houses of Parliament, and how much it will reflect on

[1] Symson.

the honour of Scotland and the faith of England to take away his life."[1]

The body was conveyed to St. James's Palace, where it was embalmed, and on 7th February was interred at Windsor. The King had expressed a wish to be interred beside his father in Westminster Abbey, but Cromwell forbade it, having, as he said, reserved that place for himself. At the funeral it was found that the coffin had no inscription; one of those present supplied the want; a band of sheet-lead was procured, and cut out of it with penknives, spaces, in the form of large letters, so that the words, "Charles, Rex, 1648," could be read. The leaden band was then lapped round the coffin.

> Therefore, as he was ready to lay down
> His mortal for a true immortal crown,
> This, his own epitaph, he left behind,
> Which men and angels to his glory sing:
> "The people's Martyr, and the people's King."
>
> —*Elegy on Charles I.*

The learning and accomplishments of Charles were of no ordinary kind. He was well read in the history and laws of his country. He spoke French, Spanish and Italian, and had studied carefully the arts and manufactures. He said on one occasion on the subject of the choice of a profession: "I would not be a lawyer, for I could not defend a bad cause, nor yield in a good one."

Charles's collection of statuary, paintings, models and antiquities was superb. He had added to his gallery of pictures the entire cabinet of the Duke of Mantua, considered the most splendid in Europe at that period. The price of paintings rose, it is said, to double their value in consequence of a competition between Charles and Philip IV. of Spain, another collector. It has been asserted that Charles was once on the point of an agreement with Vandyck, that for £80,000 he would adorn

[1] Hill Burton.

the walls of the banqueting house at Whitehall with the ceremonies of the Order of the Garter, but the scheme fell through. He delighted in the company of learned men, and in their society is said to have been more social and more at his ease than on any other occasion. Charles had received from Nature a better understanding, a stronger will, and a keener and firmer temper than his father. He inherited his father's political theories, and was more disposed to put them in practice. It would be unjust to deny that he had some of the qualities of a good and even of a great prince. Insincerity was probably the chief cause of his fall, and the chief stain on his memory. He found that he must govern either in harmony with the House of Commons or in defiance of law. He ratified, as is well known, the petition of Right, the second Great Charter of the liberties of England.[2] By doing so he bound himself never again to raise money without the consent of Parliament; never to imprison any person unless in due course of law, and never to subject his people to the jurisdiction of courts martial.[3]

Charles had many virtues, but all of so unsociable a turn as to do him neither service nor credit. If the Commonwealth had suffered him to escape it would have been an act of generosity and justice; and to have granted him his life would have been among the more rare efforts of virtue. As for the execution having a

[1] Jesse's Memoirs.

[2] Subsequently to the execution of Charles handkerchiefs dipped in his blood were believed to possess the virtue of healing. A pilgrimage was made from a distant part to Ashburnham in Sussex, in the hope of cure from the touch of the sheet in which his body was wrapped, and which, with his watch, is in the possession of Lord Ashburnham. The stamp of gold with which the King crossed the sore of the sick person was called an angel, and of the value of ten shillings. It had a hole bored throughout, through which a ribbon was drawn, and the angel was put about the patient's neck till the cure was complete; the stamp had the impression of Michael, the Archangel, on one side, and a ship in full sail on the other.—(Pepys's Diary.)

[3] Symson.

salutary or pernicious example, it was wholly needless, and therefore unjustifiable. Both the sons of Charles feared not to violate the liberties of the people even more than he had done. In his second Parliament, says the historian May, Charles signed the Petition of Right, but suddenly dissolving that Parliament, he acted the same things, in violation of law, which he had done before. The people's liberties, by the signing of the petition, were not fortified but utterly overthrown. Many good men were sorry that his actions agreed no better with his words, that he openly protested before God that he would preserve the Protestant religion and root out Papacy; yet in the meantime, underhand, he promised to the Irish rebels an abrogation of those laws against them contrary to this undertaking, in these words: "I will never abrogate the laws against the Papists." The early and repeated instances of his insincerity had created such a firm belief of his dissimulation that the popular leaders, from a well-founded distrust of his ambiguous declarations, were ever afraid to treat with him unless upon their own terms. There is a tradition that at Hampton Court a secret contract was made between the King and Cromwell that the army should restore His Majesty, and that Cromwell should have £10,000 per annum; and that this bargain had certainly taken effect had not the King made an apology for it in a letter to the Queen, and sufficiently implied that he did it by constraint, and when at liberty and in power he should think himself discharged of the obligation.[1]

The reign of Charles, if we except that of Queen Mary, was the most dramatic of that of all the sovereigns of the House of Stuart. It cannot be said that he was wanting in decision of character, for he kept his own with the Houses of Parliament during the long and tedious correspondence that went on between them. He was a man professing high moral principle, but it must be admitted his conscience was elastic, which

[1] Laing.

materially contributed to his fall. Had he been a private citizen, and not a king, he would have been regarded as one of the best men in the kingdom. His marriage was in its result rather unsatisfactory, for it cannot be said that he and Queen Henrietta were well matched, a natural result when we consider that the betrothal took place before they ever saw each other. But what probably estranged them more than anything was the arrogant behaviour of Charles in dismissing compulsorily the Queen's French retinue, and the cruel and unfeeling manner in which he did it. It was an incident that the Queen evidently never forgot, and never forgave. Charles began his reign in the most arrogant manner by issuing an ordinance requiring the Scottish nobles to surrender their tithes and Church property; and all who refused to do so were to be prosecuted. This set the Scottish nobles against him at the very outset of his career, and put an end to any prospects he might entertain of being a popular ruler in Scotland. The dictatorial spirit, it may be said, was in his blood, for it prevailed with him all through life. His forcing a liturgy on the Presbyterians was another of his dictatorial acts which the people resented, and which led to much persecution and bloodshed; but like many of the Stuarts he was quite indifferent to that. His instructions to Archbishop Laud in 1636 in the matter of the liturgy were in the same arrogant spirit, and created widespread indignation. From this period to the execution of Laud there was nothing but persecution in the Church at the instance of the King, and a strong feeling of antagonism against him on the part of the Presbyterians as being the cause of all the troubles which led to the rise of the Covenanters, and the civil war which followed. The Presbyterians resolved that they would fight this matter to the bitter end, even if it should cost them their lives; and they did so, and fought many battles in order to defend the Protestant religion and bring the King to a better frame of mind. The Covenanting struggle will

be remembered by the Scottish people for all time.

The Glasgow General Assembly of 1638 was a Presbyterian one, and in defiance of consequences the members of it had the courage of their opinions, and resolved to repeal the acts of preceding assemblies from 1606 downwards, and to totally abolish the Service-Book and liturgy. They did more: they excommunicated fourteen bishops, and sent such a thrill of dismay through the ranks of the supporters and promoters of the liturgy, especially Laud, as they had never before experienced. The bishops were obliged to leave Scotland. Then came the National Covenant, followed by the Solemn League and Covenant, the text of both of which we have recited in the narrative. The Covenanters entered the field under Leslie, and resolved to fight the King for their just rights. That historic assembly called the Long Parliament met at Westminster in 1640, when Strafford and Laud were impeached and afterwards executed. This was a great victory to the Covenanters, but the conduct of Charles from that date became so vicious as to be intolerable. He ordered the men who impeached Strafford to be arrested, and brought an armed escort to the door of the House of Commons, while he himself walked into the House and took the Speaker's chair with a view of compelling the arrest, but the men had cunningly disappeared from the House a little before, and Parliament flatly refused to entertain the King's request. Parliament resolved, in view of the King's arbitrary conduct, that they could no longer sit there in safety, without a full vindication of so high a breach of trust and a sufficient guard, and they adjourned the House for four days. The King thereafter became highly disliked in the metropolis, and for safety removed himself and his Court to York. Even at this date, after the lapse of two and a half centuries, it is impossible to conceive how a man of his force of character and determination could have supposed he

was doing anything else than deposing himself, and surrendering the crown, by removing to York, and with no intention of an immediate return. At York he conducted his correspondence, and had regular communication with both Houses of Parliament, but they could make no impression upon him; could not even obtain his signature to official documents.

In 1642 he removed from York and took up his residence and Court at Oxford. In 1644 troubles rapidly multiplied around him; the Covenanters continued fighting in England and Scotland, while his great friend Laud was, on 12th July, beheaded on Tower Hill. The King's troops fought hard, though badly officered; but in 1645 they were severely handled at Naseby, and his cause rendered hopeless. After Naseby he wandered about in disguise, and afterwards surrendered to Leslie and got protection in Leslie's camp. The matter as recorded appears an infamous transaction, but it is qualified by the circumstances we have detailed in the narrative. Charles's behaviour clearly indicated his incapacity for the throne and his utter inability to direct the administration of the kingdom. Among the remarkable events of his reign, probably the most notable was the "purging" of the House of Commons by Cromwell, in order that he might accomplish Charles's fall. On 6th December, 1648, Cromwell surrounded the House with two regiments of soldiers, arrested and put in prison 40 members as they were entering, and excluded 100 more. That being done, Cromwell could make Parliament subservient to his purposes, as the "Rump" who remained were his supporters. This was followed by an ordinance for the trial of the King, brought in by Cromwell and passed by his Parliament; of which the King's execution was the result. It will thus be seen that the English Parliament before this outrage was not responsible for the King's fate, which was brought about by Cromwell and the unanimous vote of the "Rump." The removal of the King enabled Cromwell to arrive at the summit

of his ambition, the dictatorship of the kingdom. He was afterwards, in 1653, made Lord Protector, and in reality governed the realm. His life, however, after that appointment was short, as he died in 1658, after which we are confronted with a very different class of ruler in the person of Charles II.

On the controversial question, Was the execution of Charles justifiable? we must give a negative answer. It was a tyrannical act brought about by his injudicious conduct, his arrogant and unreasonable nature, and the impossibility of the English Parliament to carry on the administration under him. His execution was keenly disapproved by both the English and Scottish people. We do not see that Parliament could have restored him to the throne after the experience they had had of him. Their lives and liberties would not have been safe; when all has been said, he did not deserve his cruel fate, and his death must be charged to Cromwell, and Cromwell alone, as the greatest blunder in the Lord Protector's otherwise able and efficient rule.

A month after the execution of the King there was what might be called a massacre of nobles. A scaffold was erected before Westminster Hall, and the first victim was the Duke of Hamilton, who was taken prisoner after the battle of Preston. The Duke, on the scaffold, complained that he was being sacrificed for obeying the laws of his country, which, if he had not done, he must have been put to death. The next victim was the Earl of Holland, who was far gone with a mortal disease. Following him was the Lord Capel. He said he was brought thither to die for doing that which he could not repent of; that he had been born and bred under the government of a king whom he was bound to obey; under laws to which he had been always obedient; and in the bosom of a Church which he thought the best in the world; that he had never violated the faith of either of these, and was now condemned to die, against all the laws of the land. So ended the year 1648-9, a year of reproach and infamy

above all years that had preceded it; a year of the highest dissimulation and hypocrisy; of the deepest villainy and most bloody treasons that any nation was ever cursed with; a year in which the recital of all transactions ought to be erased from the Record.[1]

Children of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria de Bourbon, daughter of Henry IV., King of France, and Maria de Medicis:—

1. Charles, who died immediately after baptism.
2. Charles, afterwards Charles II., born 29th May, 1630.
3. Mary, born 1631, married William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, who died 1650. Nine days after his death she was delivered of a posthumous child, William of Orange, afterwards King of England.
4. James, Duke of York, afterwards James II. of England, born 1633.
5. Elizabeth, born 1635. Died of grief in Carisbrook Castle, 1650.
6. Henry, who died at the age of twenty, unmarried, born 1641.
7. Anne, who died young.
8. Henrietta Maria, born 1644. She married Philip, Duke of Orleans, brother of Louis XIV., and had issue Maria Louisa, born 1662; married Charles II., King of Spain, and died childless; Anne Mary, born 1669, married the Duke of Savoy, and had issue five children.

Queen Henrietta Maria, wife of Charles I., died in 1669 in France, and was interred in the Abbey of St. Dennis, near Paris; her head in the Convent of Chaillot.

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion.

CHARLES II.
King of Scotland.

(From a Portrait by Sir Peter Lely, in the Collection of the Marquis of Hertford.)

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CHAPTER V.

Birth and Boyhood of Charles II.—Proclaimed King at Edinburgh —Proclamation of "Rump" Parliament—Charles at The Hague —Letter, Parliament of England—Reply of Scottish Parliament—Battle of Invercarron—Arrival of Charles in Scotland—Cromwell and the Battle of Dunbar—Charles crowned at Scone—Coronation proceedings—Cromwell at Inverkeithing —Battle of Worcester and capture of Leslie—Escape of the King—Extraordinary wanderings of the King—His romantic and thrilling incidents—His escape to France—Cromwell and the Devil.

REIGN OF CHARLES II.

A.D. 1649—1685.

THE spoiled and wayward son of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria now comes upon the scene. Under his reign the nation was anything but flourishing. It might almost be said that under him the dial went back 25 degrees. He was born at St. James's on 29th May, 1630, and thereafter was created Prince of Wales. At the age of eight years he was committed to the care of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle, as his first tutor and guardian. At the age of eleven, William, Marquis of Hertford, was appointed in the Duke of Newcastle's place, and Lord Hertford was afterwards superseded by Thomas Howard, Earl of Berkshire, who retained the office till 1644. On 5th March, 1645, the Prince and his adviser, Sir Edward Hyde, afterwards Earl of Clarendon, took leave of the King owing to the troubles of the time, and they never saw the King again. Prince Charles and Hyde went to Bristol, where they remained some time, thence to Cornwall, the Prince's life being in danger. General Fairfax, however, had just arrived at Bodmin in that county with the object

of capturing the Prince, but Hyde out-manœuvred him. On 2nd March, 1646, the Prince, with Sir Edward Hyde and others, took ship and arrived at the Scilly Isles. Here they found great misery and destitution. They remained till 16th April, sometimes in want of food, having brought only a scanty supply of provisions from Cornwall. Cromwell made vigorous attempts to kidnap the Prince, and actually on one occasion a fleet of twenty vessels arrived at the Scilly Isles for the purpose. A violent storm, however, arose, which enabled the Prince and Hyde to escape in a boat to Jersey. The difficulty now was whether the Prince should remain in Jersey or go over to France. Hyde was opposed to his going there. The Queen-mother, who was in France, resorted to every artifice to get him into her power. She eventually sent a letter signed by herself and the King desiring that the Prince be sent to France, and Hyde, in the face of this letter, could detain him no longer.[1] Hyde not being on good terms with the Queen declined to accompany the Prince, but remained in Jersey for two years, and employed a large portion of his time in writing the "History of the Rebellion." In June, 1648, the Queen summoned him to France to attend on the Prince. In 1649 the Prince paid a second visit to Jersey, accompanied by an escort of 300 persons; but their stay was brief, and they returned to France, the Prince going to Breda to reside with his sister, the Princess of Orange. Evidently his mother and he did not get on together.

In Scotland, at this date, there was the greatest excitement. The Scottish Parliament and the Scottish people were, with much reason, enraged at the execution of their sovereign, an indefensible act that was perpetrated without their knowledge. This feeling was rendered more acute in view of the circumstances of the King's surrender to the English Parliament on the honourable understanding that he would be protected. Such a deliberate outrage as the King's murder had

[1] Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors.

never been contemplated by the Scots. Smarting under this insult, the Scottish Parliament, on 5th February, 1649, six days after the execution of the King, proclaimed the Prince of Wales at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh as Charles II., King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, without consulting Cromwell or his Parliament. The circumstances justified the Scots in adopting this independent course. This act was done before any step was taken to ascertain Charles's views on the Covenant, the question of the hour.

This proclamation was as follows:—

The Estates of Parliament presently convened in the second session of the second triennial Parliament, etc.: Forasmuch as the King's Majesty who lately reigned is, contrary to the dissent and protestation of this kingdom, now removed by a violent death; and that by God's blessing there is left to us a righteous heir and lawful successor, Charles, Prince of Wales, now King of Great Britain, France and Ireland. We therefore unanimously proclaim and declare that the said Prince Charles is, by the providence of God and by right of succession and descent, King of Great Britain, etc., whom all subjects of this kingdom are bound faithfully to obey, maintain and defend, according to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant between the kingdoms, with their life and goods, as their righteous sovereign Lord and King. It is hereby declared, that before he be admitted to the exercise of his Royal power he shall give satisfaction to the kingdom in those things that concern the security of religion and the union between the kingdoms, according to these Covenants. We, the Parliament of the kingdom of Scotland, publish this our acknowledgment of his just right, title and succession to the crown, at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, and ordain his Royal name and seal to be used in the public writings and judicatories of the kingdom. God save King Charles II.[1]

[1] Acts of the Scot. Par.

Argyll caused the following clause to be inserted :— "Because His Majesty is bound by the laws of God and the laws of this kingdom to rule in righteousness and equity, to the honour of God, the good of religion, and the welfare of the people."

The tragic death of the King had, as might be expected, a paralysing influence on the administration of Cromwell. Had Cromwell been allowed to manage the affairs of the kingdom undisturbed, his rule might probably have been a great improvement on that of Charles I. But so far from being undisturbed, his administration involved him in civil war during the whole nine years of the Commonwealth; while his merciless and indiscriminate executions, which included many of the best men of that age, reduced his Commonwealth from its attitude of civil allegiance to a reign of terror, which has ever since disgraced the pages of history. Nothing could exceed the barbarous and inhuman nature of these executions, which in the cases of men of rank meant the mutilation of their bodies after death. The "Rump" Parliament promptly proceeded to business on the death of Charles I., sent home the Scots Commissioners who were in London as an indication of resentment at the proclamation of Charles II., and issued a proclamation that no person whatever should presume to declare Charles Stuart, son of the late King, to be King, or Chief Magistrate of England, under pain of being adjudged a traitor; but the Scottish Parliament ignored this. They next abolished, or endeavoured to abolish, the House of Lords by a resolution that they would make no further addresses to that House, nor receive any from them; that that House was useless and dangerous, and that an act should be passed abolishing it; and that the privilege of peers of being free from arrest should be declared null and void. They then proceeded to abolish the monarchy, declaring that it had been found by experience that the office of King was unnecessary, burdensome and dangerous to the liberty, safety and

CATHERINE OF BRAGANZA.
Queen of Scotland. Wife of Charles II.

(*By Henry Gascar, National Portrait Gallery.*)

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interest of the nation, and therefore that it should be utterly abolished.[1] These remarkable proceedings irritated the Scottish Parliament, particularly as the "Rump" consisted of only fifty men, exclusive of Cromwell's soldiers. Cromwell immediately created his new Great Seal for the Commonwealth; on one side it had the arms of England and Ireland, with the words, "The Great Seal of England"; on the obverse the House of Commons sitting, with the words, "In the first year of freedom by God's blessing, restored, 1648."

On 17th March, 1649, two months after the late King's death, a deputation of the Estates, headed by the Earl of Cassillis, waited on Charles at The Hague in order to ascertain if he was prepared to sign the Covenant. To this deputation he promised everything. Sir Joseph Douglas also arrived at The Hague with a letter to Charles from the Privy Council of Scotland, informing him that they had already proclaimed him King. They sent him the proclamation, and requested him to prepare to return to Scotland; they would speedily send him another invitation. That invitation arrived at the same time with some commissioners deputed by the Privy Council; also three or four ministers representing the Kirk. The Covenanters considered it of vital importance to the welfare and peace of the realm that the King's signature should be obtained to the Covenant.

The Scottish Parliament continued to be deeply enraged at the murder of the King, while the "Rump" Parliament was displeased at the proclamation of Charles by the Scots, and the following communications passed on the subject:—

WESTMINSTER, 23*rd May*, 1649.

The Parliament of England to the Parliament of Scotland. — MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN, — I am commanded by the Parliament of England to desire

[1] Clarendon's Rebellion.

your lordships to acquaint the Parliament of Scotland that they have many things of just resentment to make known, and demand satisfaction for, from the Parliament and kingdom of Scotland; the particulars they think it not needful to mention at this time, being things so generally known and fresh in memory; and being desirous to get satisfaction in a peaceable way, they therefore propose that commissioners for each nation be appointed to meet in some convenient place, mutually agreed on, to which meeting commissioners shall be sent, fully authorised, from the Parliament of England and the Commonwealth, with instructions to make known the particulars they have to complain of; and if they receive satisfaction the Parliament of England is willing, and their commissioners shall be further authorised, to conclude a firm and strict league of amity and friendship between the two nations, by means of which these may be preserved in a lasting peace and happy enjoyment of religion in its purity; together with their civil liberties, notwithstanding the many wicked designs that are on foot against them, by both secret and professed enemies. I desire that the Parliament of Scotland's answer may be returned by the bearer, who is sent express.—I am, etc.,

WILL. LENTHALL,
Speaker of the Parliament of England.

To this communication a very independent answer is recorded:—

EDINBURGH, 26*th June*, 1649.

The Estates of the Parliament of Scotland have received the letter of 23rd May, 1649, signed by you as Speaker of Parliament, and written in the name of the Commonwealth of England; which titles in regard to the Solemn League and Covenant and treaties and many declarations of the Parliaments of both kingdoms are such as they may not acknowledge. Those things of just resentment wherein satisfaction is

demanded from this kingdom are only mentioned in the general, and therefore cannot so well receive a particular answer, but if by those general expressions, the late unlawful engagement against England be understood, they desire that their protestations against the same in Parliament, and the opposition made by them afterwards in arms (which they never laid down till the garrisons of Berwick and Carlisle were restored to England), may be remembered, together with the letter from the House of Commons to the General Assembly of this Kirk, of 3rd August, 1648; and that Lieutenant-General Cromwell, authorised by both Houses of Parliament, did upon the 5th of October last represent to the Committee of Estates of the kingdom of England in that engagement, and did demand that they would give assurance in the name of Scotland not to admit or suffer any who have been active in, or consenting to, that engagement, to be employed in any public place or trust; which was not only granted and confirmed by Parliament, but all acts for the prosecution of that engagement have been repealed, and all proceedings thereon publicly disclaimed; and if any other wrongs shall be made known to us, we shall be ready to return such an answer as may give satisfaction, if the bonds of religion, loyalty to the King, and mutual amity and friendship between the kingdoms be impartially considered according to the Solemn League and Covenant, and the professions and declarations of both kingdoms. The Estates of Parliament think they have just cause to complain of the late proceedings in England in reference toreligion, the taking away of the King's life, and the change of the fundamental government of that kingdom; against which this Kirk and kingdom, and their commissioners, have protested and given testimony. It is apparent there has been of late in England a backsliding and departure from the grounds and principles in which both kingdoms have been engaged, the Scottish Parliament therefore proposes that the late proceedings

against Covenant and treaties may be disclaimed and disavowed, as the prosecution of the late unlawful engagement against England has been disclaimed and disavowed here; and that those who have departed from these principles and their former professions may return to the same. On these grounds they are willing to authorise commissioners on behalf of Scotland to treat with commissioners from the Parliament of England, concerning all matters of just complaint which either nation may have against the other; and for redress and reparation thereof, and to do everything that may conduce to the continuing of peace between the kingdoms, which can never be settled on so sure a foundation as the former treaties and the Solemn League and Covenant from which, as no alteration or revolution of affairs can absolve either kingdom, so we trust in God, that no success whatever, whether good or bad, shall be able to divert us. As it hath been our care in times past, it shall with God's help still be our endeavour to keep ourselves free from all connection with the Popish, Prelatical, or Malignant party on the one hand, or those who are enemies to the fundamental government, by King and Parliament, and countenance and maintain errors, heresy and schism upon the other. I have no other thing in command from the Parliament of this kingdom, but to take notice that there is no answer returned to their letter of the 5th March last. LOUDOUN,

Cancellarius, Preses Parlamenti.

This courageous response of the Scottish Parliament put Cromwell on his "mettle," and indicated in the clearest terms the feeling prevailing in Scotland, and what he had to expect from a people who resented his dictatorial administration.

The Covenanters had to be reckoned with as a power in the realm. For several years they had an anxious time of it with the late King in order to protect their rights. They now refused to recognise Charles II.

until he should give security for the religion and peace of the kingdom according to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant, to which they wanted his subscription. The Marquis of Montrose and other exiled Royalists urged him to reject the Scottish crown on these conditions, and they offered, by force of arms, to place him on the throne. Civil war was the result, and Montrose, with the view of carrying out his threat, foolishly assembled his troops on behalf of Charles and went by sea to Scotland.

The problem which moved the kingdom from Land's End to John o' Groat's was the religious question. The late King had in his last days ostensibly abolished Episcopacy and the Service-Book, and Cromwell had endorsed that proceeding. We must remember that Cromwell was neither a Royalist nor a Covenanter; neither an Episcopalian nor a Presbyterian, but in his own words he was "an Independent." It now remained to be seen what Charles II. would do.

To the great joy of the Covenanters, Charles, on 1st May, 1650, signed the draft of the agreement at Breda, and at Heligoland on 11th June, when on the point of sailing for Scotland, he subscribed the complete and final form of the treaty. It provided that he would remove from the Court all persons excommunicated by the Kirk, that he would by solemn oath allow the National Covenant, and that he would prosecute the ends thereof in his Royal station; that he would ratify and approve all acts of Parliament in favour of the Solemn League and Covenant and establishing Presbyterianism; the Directory of worship; the Confession of Faith, as already ratified by the General Assembly and Paraliament, that he would give his Royal assent to the acts of Parliament enjoining the same in the rest of his dominions; and that he would observe the same in his own practice and family, and never make any change thereof; that he would consent that all matters civil might be determined by the

present and subsequent Parliaments; and all matters ecclesiastical as ordered by the General Assembly. Whether at this date Charles may be charged with simplicity or insincerity the fact remains that this promise was worthless.

Charles arrived in a Dutch fleet in the mouth of the Spey on 23rd June, 1650, one month after the execution of Montrose, and in view of his supposed duplicity was requested to sign the Covenant again before he was permitted to land. He accordingly did so. These prompt proceedings alarmed Cromwell, who immediately resolved to collect his forces and march into Scotland. On 16th July he crossed the Tweed with 11,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry and continued his march to Musselburgh. When he advanced from that place he found the enemy entrenched between Leith and Edinburgh in a position which secured the defence of both towns. After some desultory fighting he fell back on Musselburgh, hotly pursued by the Scottish Horse, who succeeded in capturing Lambert, one of Cromwell's generals, though he was eventually rescued. On 6th August Cromwell retired to Dunbar, and on 11th August he returned to Musselburgh. Finding it impossible to make his way to Leith he made for Queensferry so as to cut off Leslie's communication with the North.

On the 18th he took up his position on the Braid Hills. The main body of the Scots now drew up on the south side of Edinburgh, facing the English army, while a detachment of two guns was stationed on Corstorphine Hill. To reach Queensferry, therefore, he had to pass between Corstorphine and Edinburgh, where he would be exposed to the double fire of the Scots. Thus checkmated, Cromwell moved to Colinton, to which Leslie responded by marching his troops to Corstorphine. Cromwell crossed the water of Leith, in order to proceed to Queensferry, but Leslie checkmated him again, occupied the high ground behind Gogar, west of Colinton, and barred his

further march. Foiled in all his attempts to force a battle, Cromwell was disappointed, and was in great straits for provisions. He was obliged to retire to Dunbar, which he reached on 28th August, having lost since he crossed the Tweed 5,000 men, mainly through disease induced by scarcity of food and exposure.[1] Cromwell was at last caught in a trap, as Leslie followed him to Dunbar. If he continued his march southwards he would have to fight at a disadvantage. An attempt to escape by sea would be attended with greater risk, as he would have to embark his troops in the face of the enemy. "We are upon an engagement very difficult," he wrote. "Our lying here daily consumeth our men, but we have much hope in the Lord, of whose mercy we have had large experience."[2] On Tuesday, 3rd September, shortly before sunrise, Cromwell began the attack on Leslie at Dunbar by crossing the stream at Broxmouth House, and thus secured a passage for his troops. The chances of success were rather against the Scots, as in his cramped position Leslie had no scope to arrange his forces as his skill and experience might have suggested. Though taken at a disadvantage the Scots made a gallant resistance; Lambert attacking the Scottish Horse was beaten back, and Monk had the same experience with the Scottish Infantry. It was only when Cromwell himself came up at the head of three regiments of foot, and one of cavalry, that the line of the Scots was broken. Two Scots regiments fought heroically but were cut down; the majority of the army showed great want of courage, many surrendered, many fled, casting away their weapons before they had begun to use them. And the rout being complete Cromwell exclaimed, "Let God arise and let His enemies be scattered." He then commanded a halt and sang the 117th Psalm. It is said that 3,000 were slain at this battle, including a number of officers and ministers, and 10,000 taken prisoners. One half of these were dismissed from the

[1] Hume Brown. [2] *Ibid.*

field sick or wounded; the other half were cruelly treated. They suffered great hardships at Newcastle and Durham, where they were imprisoned, many of them dying of pestilence and hunger. The survivors, with a cruelty dishonourable to Cromwell and his Parliament, were sent to the English settlements in America, and sold for slaves.

The result of the battle of Dunbar was that Edinburgh, except the castle, surrendered. The reports we possess of the battle are incomplete. We have, for example, no information as to the number of clergy who were amongst Leslie's troops, nor to what extent Leslie was dominated by these men, nor the reasons which led to their being there at all. Leslie's camp was situated between Edinburgh and Leith, and an English historian[1] informs us "that the young King came into the camp and was gaining on the affections of the soldiers. At this the clergy who were with Leslie got alarmed and ordered him immediately to leave the camp. They at the same time purged it of 4,000 soldiers (malignants) who followed the King and who were the best soldiers in the service. They then concluded that they had an army composed entirely of saints and could not be beaten. They murmured against their general, and against the Lord on account of His delays in giving them deliverance; and they told Him that if he would not save them from the English he should no longer be their God." We have no means of verifying this extraordinary report of the historian, and the reader must attach his own value to it. That there was a large contingent of ministers at the battle fighting against Cromwell there appears no doubt. Another historian[2] informs us that the defeat at Dunbar was a matter that pleased the King exceedingly; it was the greatest happiness that could befall him in the loss of so strong a body of his enemies (the clergy), who, if they had prevailed, would have shut him up in prison; which had been only a stricter confinement than he suffered

[1] Hume. [2] Clarendon.

already, as Lord Lorn, Argyll's eldest son, being Captain of the Guard, watched him night and day, so that he could not go anywhere without his leave. After this defeat they looked upon the King as a necessary person: permitted his servants who had been sequestered from him to attend and wait upon him, and began to talk of his coronation. As Clarendon was in attendance on the King, and was in reality his adviser, and a very able adviser, his opinion, as far as it goes, may be accepted as accurate. Cromwell gave the Edinburgh ministers liberty to preach in their own pulpits, but they declined because of the violation of the Covenant and his restrictions placed on English ministers. For a short time soldiers and laymen occupied the vacant pulpits, and preached, it is said, to crowded audiences. General Leslie retired with the remainder of his army to Stirling and preserved a bold front notwithstanding his defeat at Dunbar. Disaffected persons were ordered to quit Edinburgh within twenty-four hours and to leave the kingdom within twenty days. The young King, who was living in Perth, and had gone from Perth and Falkland to Dunfermline, finding things going against him, departed on 4th October to the Atholl country, where a plan was being formulated for gathering the Highlanders to his standard after his defeat at Dunbar, but it does not appear that anything came of this movement.

The Estates of Parliament met at Perth and ordained the coronation of Charles to take place at Scone on 1st January, 1651. Edinburgh was at this date in the occupation of Cromwell. This was the last coronation of the Scottish kings at Scone. The owner of Scone was James Murray, third Viscount Stormont. The event was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity. Charles was seated in a chair of state, under a canopy, by the Earl of Angus, in the hall of the palace. The commissioners of barons and burghs were introduced and presented to the King, after which the Earl of Loudoun, the Chancellor, said: "Sir, your good subjects

desire that you may be crowned as the righteous and lawful heir of the crown of Scotland ; that you would maintain religion as it is presently professed and established, conform to the National Covenant and Solemn League and Covenant, according to your declaration in Dunfermline in August last ; also that you would be graciously pleased to receive them under your protection, govern them by the laws of the kingdom, and defend them in their rights and liberties. Offering themselves in the most humble manner to your Majesty, with their vow to bestow land, life, and whatever else is in their power for the maintenance of religion, for the safety of your person and maintenance of your crown, which they entreat you to accept ; and pray Almighty God that for many years you may happily enjoy the same." The King answered : " I do esteem the affection of my good people more than the crown of many kingdoms, and shall be ready, by God's assistance, to bestow my life in their defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see religion in this kingdom flourish in all happiness," and on his knees, with uplifted hands, he solemnly declared in the presence of Almighty God his approval of the Covenants, consented to the acts of Parliament enjoining the same, and establishing Presbyterian government, and would never oppose them or change them. He then subscribed the Covenant. Thereafter the company formed into procession and walked to the church of Scone. The sword, sceptre and crown were carried respectively by Rothes, Crawford and Argyll heading the procession, while the King followed, the Earl Marischal being on the right, and the Lord High Constable on the left, under a canopy of crimson velvet, his train being carried by Lords Erskine, Montgomerie, Newbattle and Mauchline, these being the eldest sons of Mar, Eglinton, Lothian and Loudoun. These again were supported by the Scottish nobles Drummond, Carnegie, Ramsay, Johnstone, Brechin and Yester, these being the eldest sons of earls. The church was fitted up for the

occasion with benches for members of Parliament. In the centre a platform was erected twenty-four feet square and six feet high, and on this the throne was placed. The sermon was preached by Robert Douglas, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, a strong Presbyterian, from the words: "And he brought forth the King's son and put the crown upon him, and gave him the testimony; and they made him king and anointed him, and they clapped their hands and said, God save the King." The preacher, addressing the King, said:—"Many doubt of your reality in the Covenant. Let your sincerity and your reality be evinced by your steadfastness and constancy, for many like your ancestors have begun well, but have not been constant; take warning from the example before you, let it be laid to heart, requite not faithful men's kindness with persecution, yea, requite not the Lord so, who hath preserved you to this time and is settling a crown upon your head; requite not the Lord with apostacy and defection from a sworn Covenant." The King was thereupon crowned, took the coronation oath, and the nobility the oath of allegiance. The proceedings terminated by an address to the King, the nobles and people, the minister solemnly admonishing them to respect the vows they had that day taken on themselves.[1]

After the coronation new levies of troops proceeded with great spirit, Charles assuming the command, with Hamilton and Leslie as commanding officers. They took up a strong position at Stirling. In the middle of April, Cromwell marched westward with his troops and reached Glasgow on the 18th, where he remained till the 30th. He was recalled to Edinburgh, and did not resume hostilities in the west till 25th June. It is recorded that a fierce encounter with the Scots took

[1] After the coronation it was proposed that the young King should marry one of Argyll's daughters. An express was sent to France to get the Queen-mother's consent, but it was not obtained, and the matter dropped.

place near Inverkeithing, when the latter were entirely routed, with the loss of 2,000 men and 600 taken prisoners. Cromwell then advanced to Perth, which was surrendered by Lord Duffus, the Governor. At Bridge of Earn, where he spent Sunday, he conducted public worship, and it is said, preached a stirring sermon to the soldiers. In the beginning of August the Scottish army, about 14,000 strong, suddenly broke up their camp and advanced into England. As Cromwell was harassing Scotland, it was resolved to adopt this stratagem and give him a *quid pro quo*. This move took Cromwell by surprise. Leaving a garrison in Perth, he sent General Monck, with 7,000 men, to reduce Stirling; ordered the militia to assemble and obstruct the enemy; commanded Lambert, with a body of cavalry, to hang upon their rear and retard their march, and hastened himself to follow them with all speed. The Scots crossed the border at Carlisle on 6th August, but were disappointed that the English assistance from their supporters did not come forward. Evidently they had no warning of this movement, and this had a disheartening effect on the Scots. The clergy had issued a manifesto that no one should join the army until he had signed the Covenant.

Charles was in great poverty at this crisis, and Lord Balcarres had been obliged to sell his plate the previous year, for £2,000, to defray the expenses of the General Assembly. He mortgaged his estates for £6,000 more to pay the King's expenses in the North. The Royalist troops, under Leslie, continued to move south.

On the march to Worcester, the King observed General Leslie sad and melancholy throughout the journey. He rode up to him and asked an explanation, seeing he was at the head of so brave an army. Leslie answered that "he was melancholy indeed, for he well knew that the army, how well soever it looked, would not fight." Leslie was right, as subsequent events showed. On the 22nd August they halted at Worcester. Unfortunately Lambert, at the head of

18,000 of Cromwell's troops, was close at hand; and on 28th August Cromwell came in sight with 30,000 more and surrounded the town. On the 3rd September, the anniversary of the battle of Dunbar, the Worcester engagement began. The Scots had meanwhile lined the hedges with which the ground was intersected, and when the enemy crossed the river, they met with so warm a reception that Cromwell was obliged to cross the Severn to their assistance with some of his best troops. The struggle is said to have been long and fierce, every inch of ground being contested. Charles and his Council of war were anxiously watching the struggle, and they resolved to sally forth and attack the enemy on the eastern bank of the river. Cromwell, to meet this movement, crossed the river by a bridge of boats, and here the keenest part of the struggle began. The Scots fought with determined fury, drove back the English life-guards, and for some time obtained possession of their artillery. The battle raged here with alternate success for three hours, Cromwell admitting that it was "as stiff a contest as ever he had seen." The Scots eventually were compelled to yield; 3,000 were estimated as slain and 6,000 taken prisoners, which included General Middleton, 11 nobles, and 150 officers. The Duke of Hamilton was mortally wounded in the leg, and died in a week after. It is recorded that the soldiers taken were treated with great cruelty, sent to plantations abroad and sold as slaves. The "Rump" Parliament ordained that the estates of those who fought at Worcester on behalf of Charles were to be confiscated. Leslie escaped with 15,000 troops, but was intercepted in Yorkshire and taken prisoner. He and Lauderdale and the Scottish nobles were sent to the Tower of London, and a price set on the King's head. Leslie and Lauderdale remained prisoners in the Tower until the Restoration in 1660, when they were released, Leslie being created Lord Newark in consideration of his services.

The King made his escape from the battle, accom-

panied by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Derby, Shrewsbury, Cleveland, Lord Wilmot and a small body of horse—in all, about sixty persons. The romantic adventures, privations and hairbreadth escapes of Charles during forty-five days after the battle of Worcester form a remarkable page of history. The first place where he rested was Boscobel House, Staffordshire, inhabited by William Penderell and his wife, true Royalists. In the dead of night they passed unperceived through Stourbridge, where a party of the enemy's horse happened to be quartered, after which they arrived at this place, twenty-six miles from Worcester. George Penderell, a servant of the family, was hurried from his bed, and his brothers, William, Humphrey and Richard were sent for. Richard, who was the first to arrive, was instantly despatched for a suit of his own clothes for the King. On his return he and William were conducted into the apartment in which were the King and his companions. The next thing was to render the disguise of Charles as effectual as possible. Having stripped himself, with the assistance of his companions, of his buff coat and his military equipment, he gave his watch to Lord Wilmot, and what money he had he gave to the servants. Then, having rubbed his face and hands with soot from the chimney, he dressed himself in the woodman's garb of Richard Penderell, consisting of a coarse shirt, a green suit and leather doublet. Lord Wilmot, in cutting off his hair, which he did with a knife, made such havoc of it that Richard was afterwards compelled to retouch it with his scissors. Charles desired him to burn the hair, but Richard disobeyed the command and retained it as a memorial of his sovereign and his misfortunes. Here Charles parted company with his remaining companions. Scarcely half an hour had elapsed when Colonel Ashenhurst, with a troop of horse, paid a visit to the house. A little beyond Newport the fugitives were surrounded by the enemy. Buckingham, Talbot and Livingstone

escaped, but Derby, Cleveland, Lauderdale and Gifford were taken prisoners. Derby was beheaded at Bolton, and Lauderdale remained a prisoner until the Restoration of Charles in 1660.

While these events were passing in the neighbourhood, the King, carrying a wood bill in his hand, had been conducted by Richard Penderell through the back door of his house to an adjoining wood called Spring Coppice. In this place Charles remained the whole of the day following the battle, his only friends being the Penderells. Richard procured him the luxury of a blanket, and in the course of the day Frances Yates, his wife's sister, visited Charles with a supply of milk, eggs and butter. Charles was alarmed to find a woman was in his secret. "Good woman," he said, "can you be faithful to a distressed cavalier?" He was much relieved and gratified by her simple answer: "Yes, sir, I will rather die than discover you." At night he was carried by the four brothers Penderell to Richard's cottage; their old mother, overjoyed to see the King in safety, hastened to prepare a dish of eggs and bacon for His Majesty. It was agreed that he should assume the name of William Jones, and that he had come into the district in search of work. Charles believed if he could cross the Severn and escape into Wales it would be his safest course, and he determined to proceed that night. Accordingly Richard Penderell and he set out about nine p.m. They had proceeded only about two miles when an alarming adventure presented itself. In Charles's own words: "Just as we came to a water mill we could see the miller sitting at the mill door, he being in white clothes, and it was a very dark night. He called out: 'Who goes there?' on which Richard answered: 'Neighbours going home.' The miller called out: 'If you be neighbours stand or I will knock you down,' on which, believing there was company in the house, the fellow bade me follow him close, and he ran to a gate that went up a dirty lane up a hill, and opening the gate called out: 'Rogues!

rogues!' Thereupon some men came out of the mill after us, who, I believe, were soldiers; so Richard and I fell a-running up the lane as long as we could run, it being very deep and very dirty, till at length I bade him leap over a hedge and lie still to hear if anyone followed us, which we did for half an hour, but no one came, and we continued our journey." It was nearly midnight when they reached the residence of Mr. Woolf, a Roman Catholic friend of Charles. The family had retired to rest, but the door was opened by Woolf's daughter. Charles was affectionately and loyally welcomed, but Woolf said he was sorry to see the King in that part of the country, that there were two companies of militia in the adjoining town of Maddeley, on the Severn; that the bridges and ferry-boats were so closely watched that it would be unsafe to pass the river, and further, that the hiding-places in his own house, "the priest's holes," as they were called, had recently been discovered by the authorities and might again be searched at any moment. He had no choice, therefore, he said, but to lodge the King in his barn, and if they received a visit from the troopers the straw offered excellent means of concealment. The King adopted the suggestion, and passed the second day of his flight in this barn. At night he and Penderell were visited by Mrs. Woolf, who supplied them with food, and effectually stained the King's face and hands with walnut juice. The passage of the Severn being impracticable, the King was compelled to retrace his steps *via* the water mill, but fearing again to encounter the miller they determined to ford the stream. Penderell could not swim, but in the King's words: "I told him I would help him over, upon which we went over some closes to the river-side, and I entering the river first to see whether I could myself go over, who knew how to swim, found it was a little above my middle, and therefore taking Richard by the hand I helped him over." It was five o'clock in the morning when they reached the wood adjoining Richard's house. Leaving the King

concealed in the thickets, Richard proceeded to find some fuel and to obtain information respecting soldiers in the district. He found that Colonel Careless, a friend of Charles who had escaped from Worcester, was concealed in the neighbourhood. Charles sent for him, and in John's cottage they breakfasted together on bread and cheese. The King's feet had been galled by his excessive walking; Careless having pulled off his shoes and stockings, they were found full of stones and gravel. Old Mrs. Penderell attended to him, and washed and dried what was required. It was found unsafe to remain any longer in this place, and Careless proposed that they should carry with them some bread and cheese and small beer, and conceal themselves among the branches of some of the oaks. They selected one of the most suitable, and took up their position among the branches, and thus the King passed the third day. It was the most critical situation in which he had yet found himself. From here he could at times see the soldiers searching in all directions for him, while some approached so near that he heard their conversation. Overcome with fatigue he fell asleep. With the King's head resting on his lap Careless watched over his slumbers and prevented his falling. At night, when the soldiers had disappeared, the King returned to Penderell's house. The priest's hole was an apartment of the house. It was built between two walls, and had two separate exits. Before retiring to rest in this apartment the King had an interview with Humphrey Penderell. He had been paying his taxes that day, and was subjected to a severe examination by the authorities, but deaf to all threats and temptations Humphrey remained true to the last. A reward of £1,000 was offered for the discovery of the King; and the punishment for concealing him death without mercy.

The King spent the fourth day in the garden of Penderell's house. It is said his appetite remained in its normal condition. Early in the morning before he had risen, Careless, accompanied by William Penderell,

went to a sheepfold in the district, and striking his dagger into one of the fattest of the animals, William brought it home on his back, the King assisting at the cooking. Sending for a knife and a trencher he cut a portion of the leg into slices, and laying them on the frying-pan with some butter, applied himself seriously to his new occupation. When Careless afterwards joined the King's little Court on the Continent the King reminded him of this morning's work, and asked the bystanders which of the two should be considered the master-cook. The Penderells afterwards offered to pay the owner of the sheep, but when he knew it was for a suffering cavalier he refused all recompense whatever. As soon as night set in the King wished to go to Moseley, three miles from Wolverhampton, where Lord Wilmot lay concealed. As the King had suffered severely in his feet Penderell's mill-horse was put at his service for the journey. The Penderells, with Yates, their brother-in-law, all armed with pike staves and pistols, formed the King's body-guard. Careless parted from the King here. Two of the brothers marched before him, while one walked on each side, the other three following a short distance behind. The King, complaining that the old horse went heavily, Humphrey replied: "Can you blame the horse, my liege, that he goes heavily, when he has the weight of three kingdoms on his back?" A short distance from Moseley the party separated, Richard and John remaining with the King. In the field that had been selected for his meeting with Lord Wilmot the King found Mr. Whitegrave, his future host, and one Huddlestone, a Catholic priest (afterwards present at Charles's death, 1685). It was not till they arrived at Whitegrave's house that that gentleman knew that he was in the presence of his sovereign. Whitegrave, describing the events of that night, says:—"I saw them coming up the long walls, of which I speedily acquainted Lord Wilmot, who wished me to stay at the orchard door and show the King the way to the stairs, where Lord Wilmot expected him.

When he came to the door with the Penderells guarding him, he was so habited like one of them that I could not tell which was he, only I knew all the rest. I could scarce put off my hat to him, but he, discovering the stairs by the light, immediately went to them, where his lordship expected him and took him up to his chamber. Then I took the Penderells into the buttery to eat and drink, that I might despatch them and secure the house. But ere they had done my lord sent Huddlestone down to me desiring me to come up, which accordingly I did; and coming to the chamber door, His Majesty and my lord being both near to it talking, his lordship said to me: 'This gentleman under disguise, whom I have hitherto concealed, is both your master and mine, and the master to us all, to whom we all owe our duty and allegiance,' and so I kneeling down, the King gave me his hand to kiss, and bid me rise, and said he had received from my lord such a character of my loyalty and readiness in those dangers to assist him and his friends that he would never be unmindful of me or mine; and the next question was: 'Where is the private place my lord told me of?' which being shown him he went into it, and said it was the best place he was ever in. Then he, returning to his chamber, sitting down by the fireside, we pulled off his shoes and stockings and washed his feet, which were sadly blistered, and then pulled off likewise his apparel and shirt, and put on him one of Huddlestone's, and other apparel of ours. After he had refreshed himself a little by eating some biscuits and drinking a glass of wine he grew very cheerful, and said if it would please God to send him once more an army of 10,000 good and loyal soldiers he feared not to expel all those rogues out of his kingdom."

The King passed two entire days at Whitegrave's. From a small closet over the porch he could see what was passing on the Wolverhampton road, and more than once witnessed his own straggling and wretched followers begging for bread at the gates. He was thus passing his time on the second day after his arrival,

when he suddenly beheld a party of soldiers approaching the house, and he at once retreated to his hiding-place. The soldiers drawing up before the gate, Whitegrave went boldly out to meet them. They thought he was at the battle of Worcester, but as they found they were mistaken they departed without examining the premises. The following day Colonel Lane from Bentley, a staunch Royalist, came in person to Moseley to conduct the King to his next abode. He took leave of his host and Huddlestone with every expression of gratitude, and sent for the hostess, Whitegrave's mother, to come and take leave of him. She came and brought some raisins, almonds and sweetmeats, which she presented to him, whereof he was pleased to eat, and took some with him. "We then all knelt down and prayed Almighty God to bless, prosper and perserve him. He was pleased to salute Mrs. Whitegrave and thank her for her kind entertainment, and then giving his hand to Huddlestone and myself to kiss, saying if it pleased God to restore him he would never be unmindiul of us. He went over to Colonel Lane, and having got on horseback we knelt and kissed his hand again, offering all our prayers for his safety and preservation, Huddlestone putting on him a cloak of his to keep him from cold and wet."

The same night he arrived at Colonel Lane's house at Bentley. Lane proposed to conduct him to Bristol, where he had many supporters. The Colonel's sister, Miss Jane Lane, a young lady of considerable personal accomplishments, had obtained a Parliamentary pass to convey herself and some friends to that city. It was agreed that the King should personate a servant, and ride double before the young lady; four friends accompanied. Next morning the King appeared in his new dress and character, and his name was changed from William Jones to William Jackson. The cavalcade being ready to start, old Mrs. Lane, in ignorance of the King's presence, came down to bid her daughter farewell. Lane made a sign to the King that he ought to

offer his sister his hand and assist her to mount. This he did, with his hat in his hand, but with so much awkwardness that it attracted the old lady's attention. Turning to Lane, she said, with a smile: "What a goodly horseman my daughter has got to ride before her." The party then set out, Lord Wilmot riding before them, with a hawk in his fist and spaniels by his side, pretending to be a sportsman. At night they rested at Mr. Tomb's at Longmaston, four miles from Stratford, the King in order to keep up his character kept the kitchen. In the course of the evening, the cook, who was preparing supper, desired the King to wind up the jack. He performed this awkwardly, which roused the woman, who said: "What countryman are you, that you don't know how to wind up a jack?" The King said: "I am a poor tenant's son of Colonel Lane in Staffordshire; we seldom have roast-meat, but when we have we don't make use of a jack." The party arrived next night at the Crown Inn, Cirencester, and the next night they arrived at Abbotsleigh, the house of Miss Lane's relative, Miss Norton. The next morning the King had a narrow escape from discovery. He says: "I rose pretty early and went to the buttery hatch to get breakfast, where I found Pope and other men in the room, and we all fell to eating bread and butter, and Pope gave us good ale and sack. One of these men gave such a minute account of the battle of Worcester that I thought he must be one of Cromwell's men. I found, however, that he had been in my own regiment of Guards. I asked him what kind of man I was, when he described exactly both my clothes and my horse, also that the King was three fingers taller than I. Upon which I made haste out of the buttery in case he should indeed know me."

The next morning the King, seated on horseback in front of his fair companion, Miss Lane, set out on his journey to Trent. The journey occupied two days, the first night being spent at Castle Cary. Colonel and Mrs. Wyndham met the King a short distance from

Trent in order to bid him welcome. Next day Miss Lane took leave of him and returned home. Colonel Wyndham's mother also lived at Trent. On the King being presented to the venerable lady, she said: "I account it my highest honour that I had three sons and one grandchild slain in defence of your father, and that in my old age I should be instrumental in the preservation of yourself." She insisted on giving up her sleeping apartment to the King, there being beside it a small secret closet well adapted for purposes of concealment. Here the King remained undisturbed several days; on one of these days the sound of bonfires and bells reached Trent, and on the King inquiring the cause was informed that it was on account of the tidings of his own death which had been brought by some of the soldiers. "Alas! poor people," was his only reply. From this place he went to Charmouth, riding double before Juliana Coningsby, a niece of Lady Wyndham; Colonel Wyndham accompanied them. At Charmouth he was to embark on 22nd September for France, but the contractor for the journey failed to turn up. Charles and Lord Wilmot sat up all night, but in vain, while Wyndham and his servant waited on the beach. It is said[1] that in the inn at Charmouth the King was concealed in the chimney when soldiers searched the house. Apprehensive of treachery it was arranged that the King, Wyndham and Juliana Coningsby should retreat to Bridport,[2] while Wilmot remained at the inn to inquire about the disappointment. It transpired that the contractor's wife was the cause. He had kept this voyage in secret from her until the last moment, and meantime she had seen a proclamation threatening instant death to whoever would harbour the King. She at length secured her husband's safety by locking him up in a room. The King then proceeded with his escort to Bridport. That place was full of Cromwell's soldiers, and it was arranged to return to Trent.

About four o'clock on the morning of 15th October

[1] Cassell's Gazetteer. [2] Dorsetshire.

the party set out on horseback for Shoreham, where it had been decided that the King should embark. He and Wilmot got into the vessel by a ladder; the King was in ignorance that Tattersal, the captain of the vessel, had recognised his features until he fell down on his knees and expressed his delight at seeing the King in safety, and that he would risk all he had in the world to land His Majesty safely on the opposite coast. About seven a.m. they cleared out of port; on the 16th October they arrived at Normandy, where they landed and proceeded to Rouen, where they despatched a message to the French King. Having got a change of raiment at Rouen, the travellers set out for Paris. On the road they were met by the Queen-mother, and the Dukes of York and Orleans, who, with a suitable retinue, and with every expression of joy, conducted them to Paris.

The five members of the Penderell family all survived the Restoration, and were handsomely treated by the King, and their services publicly acknowledged. On Richard and his heirs for ever, and William and his heirs, £500 per annum to each family. On Humphrey, George and John, and their heirs, 100 merks per annum; on Elizabeth Yates, their sister, and her descendants, £50 per annum. Miss Jane Lane, accompanied by her brother, Colonel Lane, arrived in France about six weeks after the landing of the King. Their lives were not considered safe in England. At Paris Miss Lane was regarded as a heroine. Within a short distance from the French capital she had been met by the King himself, his mother, Henrietta Maria, and her sons, the Dukes of York and Gloucester. Charles warmly extended his hand, and his first words were: "Welcome my life!" At the Restoration Charles settled on her £1,000 per annum, and on her brother half that annual sum. It is said that he corresponded with her in the most familiar terms, and among other memorials presented her with his portrait and a gold watch. On Colonel Wyndham and his heirs he bestowed £600 per

annum, and on his widow, with a reversion to her two daughters, £400 per annum; pension to Colonel Philips of the same amount; on Charles Gifford, £300; on Thomas Whitegrave and Juliana Coningsby, £200 per annum. Charles, after his escape, resided three years in France.

On 3rd September, 1651, after the battle of Worcester, Cromwell took Colonel Lindsay, one of his officers, to a wood not far from the army, and bade him alight and follow him into the wood and to take particular notice of what he saw and heard. After they had gone some way into the wood Lindsay began to turn pale, and to be seized with terror from some unknown cause. They had not gone twenty yards further when Lindsay stood still, and cried out that he was seized with such unaccountable terror that it was impossible for him to go further. Cromwell called him a faint-hearted fool, and bid him stand there and observe, or be witness; and advancing some distance from him he met with a great elderly man with a roll of parchment in his hand, who delivered it to Cromwell, who eagerly perused it. Lindsay heard several hard words between them; particularly Cromwell said: "This is but for seven years; I was to have it for one-and-twenty, and it must, and shall be so." The other told him positively it could not be above seven, on which Cromwell cried with fierceness it should, however, be for fourteen years. The other peremptorily declared it could not be for any longer time; and if he would not take it, there were others who would do so. Upon which Cromwell took the parchment, and returning to Lindsay with great joy in his countenance, cried: "Now, Lindsay, the battle is our own (Worcester), I long to be engaged." Returning from the wood to the army, Lindsay, it would appear, deserted, and found his way to the house of a friend, Mr. Thoroughgood of Norfolk. He wanted protection from Cromwell's soldiers, who were after him; Cromwell, he said, had made a league with the devil, and the devil would have him in due time. Cromwell would certainly

die that day seven years after the battle was fought. Walker, the historian of the Independents, says: "It was believed that Cromwell on the morning of the battle of Worcester had a conference personally with the devil, with whom he made a contract, that to have his will then, and in all things else for seven years, he should after that time have him at his command to do at his pleasure both with his soul and body. Whatever may be the truth of this legend, Cromwell died exactly seven years after his victory at Worcester.[1]

[1] Lives of the Lindsays.

CHAPTER VI.

Charles arrives in France—Parliament and Cromwell quarrel—Barebone's Parliament—Cromwell's Chaplain and the Lady's maid—Charles's Proclamation from Paris—Hyde made Chancellor of England—Restoration of Charles and Proclamation—He opens Parliament—Prince James and Anne Hyde—Cromwell's body hanged at Tyburn—The King kidnaps Argyll in Whitehall—Trial and execution of Argyll—King's Coronation at Westminster—The Scottish Regalia—Burning the Solemn League and Covenant—Restoration of the bishops—Presbyterian magistrates disqualified—2,000 Clergy expelled from Benefices—Marriage of the King—Sale of Dunkirk—Anti-Presbyterian Parliament, Edinburgh—Anti-Presbyterian General Assembly—Execution of Warriston—Impeachment of Lord Clarendon—King's immorality—King's speech dissolving Parliament—King and Queen open following Parliament—Battle of Rullion Green—Buckingham Conspiracy—Clarendon to resign Great Seal—He escapes to the Continent.

REIGN OF CHARLES II.

A.D. 1649—1685.

CHARLES was in great straits for want of money, and continued to be so all his life. His devoted friend and companion, Hyde, relieved him of this responsibility so long as he was with him.

Hyde, in a letter to Sir Richard Brown, August, 1652, says:—"A sum lately received at Paris for the King is all he hath received since he came hither, and doth not enable his cooks and backstairsmen to go on providing his diet; they protest they can undertake it no longer." In the end of the year the finance minister writes: "The King is reduced to greater distress than you can believe or imagine"; and in the summer of the following year he thus described the state of the

CHARLES II.
King of Scotland.

(*From a Portrait at Dawney Court, Bucks.*)

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Treasury: "I do not know that any man is yet dead for the want of bread, which really I wonder at; I am sure the King himself owes for all he has eaten since April; and I am not acquainted with one servant of his who hath a pistole in his pocket" (a coin of the period, value 16s. sterling). "Five or six of us eat together one meal a day for a pistole a week; but all of us owe, for God knows how many weeks, to the poor woman who feeds us." To another correspondent Hyde wrote: "At this time I have neither clothes nor fire to preserve me from the sharpness of the season. I am so cold that I am scarcely able to hold my pen, and have not three sous in the world to buy a faggot: I have not been master of a crown these many months, am cold for want of clothes and fire; and owe for all the food I have eaten these three months, and to a poor woman who is no longer able to trust; and my poor family at Antwerp are in as sad a state as I am; I owe so much money here to all sorts of people that I would not wonder if I were cast into prison to-morrow; and if the King should remove, as I should hope he will shortly have occasion to do, and not enable me to pay the debt I have contracted for his service, I must look for that portion and starve there."[1]

The privations of Clarendon we cannot realise to their full extent. The flight of the King from Worcester, the condition of Scotland, and Cromwell's firm grasp of the Scottish kingdom, made Charles's position for the moment hopeless. To send him money, or even to communicate with him, would have been an act of treason punishable in that age with death. There was nothing for it but to live on the bounty of his friends, but Charles's extravagance far exceeded that bounty, and compelled Clarendon to seek credit from those who would give it. Clarendon was living in hope that Charles would one day be restored to his kingdom, and he would then reap the reward of his heroic exertions to provide for him in his exile. Clarendon's hopes were

[1] Campbell's Lives.

in 1658 realised, but the ingratitude of Charles, as the narrative hereafter will show, was of the basest and most contemptible kind.

Cromwell, on 20th April, 1653, dissolved the "Rump" Parliament.[1] Cromwell and Parliament quarrelled, and proposals for a reconstruction considered, but Cromwell and the army disapproved of them. The incident that follows was of a highly amusing character. It is recorded that one day, during the sittings at Westminster, Cromwell and some of his officers entered the House of Commons in a threatening manner, and Cromwell, addressing the members, said: "You have imposed upon the people too long, and grow rich under colour of reforming the Government; you should sit here for the public good, but you think of nothing but your own interest; you have been put into this place to establish a Commonwealth, and you undermine the very foundations of it by appropriating all things to yourselves; you have hitherto deceived me, but our eyes are open and we are resolved to be your tools no longer; be gone quickly! and since you fill up this place so unworthily, make way for honester men than yourselves." The House was silent. One member then said "it was not justice to run down the innocent as well as the guilty." Cromwell stepped forward and laid hold of three or four of them by the cloaks, saying: "You are a knave"; to another, "You are a sot"; to another, "You are a lewd fellow"; to another, "You are a faithless member," and then drove them all out. The Speaker sitting still, Cromwell pulled him out of his chair, which done, he declared Parliament dissolved, locked the doors, and put up a bill, "This House is to let." The Council of State was dissolved as well as Parliament; and thus Cromwell became not only supreme, but the creator of a Government.[2]

[1] The "Rump" Parliament was so hated and jeered at, that the butcher-boys would say: "Will you buy any Parliament rumps or kidneys?" and it was a common thing to see children make fire on the streets and burn rumps.—(Pepys.)

[2] D'Orleans' History of the Revolution in England.

As a result of the defeat of the Scots at Worcester, Scotland became for the time subject to Cromwell's Parliament, and eight commissioners were appointed to attend to Scotland and obey the directions of the Protector. A formal declaration was drawn up and ratified, in which the policy of the commission was defined. The Gospel was to be preached and liberty of worship secured to the whole people; Scotland and England were to be one Commonwealth, and Scotland was to pay an indemnity for the late wars. The Estates of those who had assisted Charles II. were to be confiscated; and a special inducement was offered to all vassals who would do homage to the new authority. On 15th January, 1652, these commissioners took up their quarters at Dalkeith Palace and proceeded to carry out their instructions. Their first step was to issue a proclamation annulling the authority of Charles and to order the destruction of the insignia of Royalty in the public places in Edinburgh. An assessment was imposed in every county for the maintenance of the English troops, and burghs and counties were to send representatives to assent to the union of the kingdoms or a commonwealth. These were duly appointed, and in April, 1653, went to London to discuss the terms of union. They remained six months there, but evidently accomplished nothing. On 20th April the Long Parliament was dissolved or expelled, in the manner we have just recited. On the meeting of what was called Barebone's Parliament in July, 1653, the consideration of the union was again resumed. This assembly was by the populace nicknamed from one of its most conspicuous members.

Barebone's Parliament, after exposing itself during a short time to the public contempt, surrendered back to the General the powers which it had received from him, and left him at liberty to frame a plan of government. One of the first resolutions adopted by Barebone's Parliament, the most intensely Puritanical of all our political assemblies, was that no person should be admitted into

the public service till the House should be satisfied of his real godliness.[1] Out of its 145 members only five were Scotsmen, and these were Cromwell's nominees. On 12th December, 1653, Barebone's Parliament came to an end, and on 16th December Cromwell was made Lord Protector.

This was the Parliament composed of Puritans, and named after a Mr. Barebone, leather merchant, Fleet Street, London, one of its members. Its first meeting was held on 4th July, 1653, when Cromwell made a long speech.[2] According to Carlyle: "Fearful impediments lay against it; some 10,000,000 of men, the whole world, and what we call the devil and his angels." It lasted five months and a few days, when it was dissolved, surreptitiously, it is said, before the Gospel party assembled, the motion put being: "That the sitting of this Parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for the good of the Commonwealth." Whereupon the House rose, and the members retired into private life.

There was evidently a movement going on, headed by Glencairn and Argyll, for the restoration of Charles, and this was made clear by the arrival of General Middleton in February, 1654, with a commission from the exiled King. Monck announced the appointment of Cromwell as Protector, and that in future there would be but one Parliament for the three kingdoms—Scotland to be represented by thirty members. This Parliament met on 3rd September, 1654, and sat for four months, when it was dissolved, but it had more pressing questions to consider than that of the Union. The next Parliament sat in September, 1656. In the interval a Council of State was appointed for Scotland in place of the eight commissioners hitherto doing duty. It was to consist of eight members, with a president and chief clerk; seven commissioners were also appointed to attend to the administration of justice. This council arrived in Edinburgh on 12th September, 1655.

[1] Macaulay. [2] Carlyle, vol. ii., p. 336.

In 1654 Charles went to Cologne, where he resided for two or three years, and where he was treated with magnificence. It is said his allowance for the maintenance of his Court at the time was £500 per month. He then went to Bruges. So closely was he watched by the spies of Cromwell that on one occasion, when he paid a secret visit to his sister at The Hague, a messenger of Cromwell, friendly to him, arrived at his hotel, to ask him to leave Dutch territory instantly as Cromwell had arranged with the Dutch authorities for his immediate capture.[1]

It is a curious fact that probably no other member of the House of Stuart encountered such difficulties in obtaining a wife. The first lady Charles fell in love with was Frances Cromwell, youngest daughter of the Protector, a lady of whom it is said no private gentlewoman had ever received so many splendid offers of marriage. Charles's consent was given to marry the lady; and the lady and her mother consented, but the difficulty was to obtain the consent of Cromwell. Lord Broghill was the mediator, and he discussed the matter with the Protector. Having obtained an interview, Lord Broghill told him of the report in the city that he was about to marry his daughter Frances to Charles. Cromwell: "And what do the fools say about it?" Broghill: "Everyone seems pleased with it, and believes, were he able to accomplish it, that it would be the most politic step he could take." Cromwell: "And you, do you believe it too?" Broghill: "It is the wisest measure you could adopt in order to secure yourself." Cromwell (walking up and down the room): "Your reasons for advising such a step?" Broghill represented how little the Protector could trust his own party, that the very persons who had assisted him to rise had become the most anxious for his downfall; that he might now make his own terms, that the Royalists would eagerly join with him, that probably he would have grandchildren who would be heirs to the throne, whereas, on

[1] Jesse's Memoirs.

the other side, he could never expect to continue the succession in his own family. Cromwell: "No; the King would never forgive me the death of his father." Broghill suggested he should find a mediator who would sound Charles. Cromwell: "No; he could never forgive me; besides, he is so damnably debauched he cannot be trusted." And so the proposal fell to the ground. A notable instance of Cromwell's promptitude is recorded at this time. Jerry White, the Protector's chaplain, had fallen in love with the Lady Frances, when one day a spy informed the Protector that the Lady Frances and her spiritual adviser were together in a private apartment. Cromwell hastened to the spot and found Jerry on his knees kissing his daughter's hand. Demanding the meaning of this, Jerry, with great presence of mind, said: "I have a long time courted that young lady there, my lady's maid, and cannot prevail. I was, therefore, humbly praying her ladyship to intercede for me." The Protector turned to the maid and demanded the reason of her obduracy. She said, with a curtsey, that if Mr White intended the honour she had no wish to oppose him. The Protector instantly sent for a clergyman, and as it was too late for Jerry to recede, they were married on the spot. The narrator adds: "The Protector, however, sweetened the dose by presenting the bride with a dowry of £500." Charles having been disappointed with Cromwell's daughter, next made love to the niece of Cardinal Mazarin, said to have been the richest heiress and most beautiful woman in France. The Cardinal, who had no belief in the Restoration, refused his consent, and the matter fell through. When Charles was restored, the Cardinal approached him regarding the marriage, and gave his consent, offering a princely dowry, but Charles refused to entertain the offer. Charles next fell in love with the eldest daughter of the Duke of Orleans, a match which Henrietta Maria warmly supported, but all of a sudden the young lady began to be cool and indifferent to Charles, and an explanation being asked,

she said she was being courted by the Emperor, and that she regarded Charles as an object of pity. So Charles again was disappointed. The Emperor, however, never married her. Charles next made love to Henrietta, daughter of the Princess Dowager of Orange. This match also fell through, Charles informing Lord Clarendon that he had been basely treated by the Princess. He next proposed to a daughter of the Duke of Lorraine, a lady of fortune, but the difficulties in this case also proved insurmountable. This period may be dated 1655.

Plunged in the gaieties of Paris, Charles forgot the misfortunes of his family and lost sight of his kingdom; content if, from any source, he could be supplied with money to defray his personal expenses. Hyde gave him excellent advice, which he received with good humour and neglected. All that he would promise as to business was that a part of every Friday he would employ in reading and answering letters on public affairs. The number and publicity of his answers at last caused general scandal among his followers, and was reported to his disadvantage in England. His character particularly suffered from the utter worthlessness of Lucy Walters, who, by her arts, had won his affections, and exercised a powerful control over his temper. She was now the mother of a child she called his—afterwards the heroic Duke of Monmouth, born 1649. Hyde interposed to dissolve this discreditable connection, and prevailed upon him to separate from her, but was obliged to give her an annuity of £400 per annum, and send her to her native country.[1]

A proclamation of a startling nature was in 1654 issued by Charles from Paris. It was in the following terms:—

CHARLES THE SECOND, ETC.—Whereas it is apparent to all rational and unbiassed men that a certain

[1] Campbell's Lives.

mechanic fellow, by name Oliver Cromwell, hath by most wicked and accursed ways and means, against all laws human and divine, most tyrannically and traitorously usurped the supreme power over the kingdom, to the enslaving and ruining the persons and estates of our free subjects therein, after he had inhumanly and barbarously butchered our dear father of sacred memory, his just and lawful sovereign. These are therefore in our name to give free leave and liberty to any man whomsoever within our three kingdoms, by pistol, sword, or poison, or any other means, to destroy Oliver Cromwell, wherein they will do an act acceptable to God and good men by cutting off so detestable a villain from the face of the earth; and whosoever, whether soldier or other, who shall be instrumental in so signal a piece of service both to God and to his King and country, we do promise, on the faith of a Christian King, as a reward for his good service to give him and his heirs for ever £500 per annum from land, or the full sum in money, or such proportion may be purchased from the owners; and also the honour of knighthood to him and his heirs. If he be a soldier in the army we shall give him a colonel's place, and such honourable employment where he may be capable of attaining farther preferment according to his merit.

Given at Paris the 3rd day of May, 1654.[1]

Then follows a pardon to all who shall disown Cromwell within six days, excepting William Lenthall, Speaker of the House of Commons; John Bradshaw, President of "the Bloody Court, called the High Court of Justice"; and Sir Arthur Hazelrig (Cromwell's instruments in executing Charles I.).

This year the King and Hyde both left Paris. While the King was still journeying at Spa, in the society of his sister, the Princess of Orange, Hyde spent his time with his family at Breda. In November the Court was

[1] Thurloe State Papers.

fixed to be at Cologne, Hyde to be Prime Minister. The Princess had been very kind to Hyde's family, provided a house for them at Breda free of charge, and had taken much notice of his daughter Anne, said to have been a sprightly girl reaching woman's estate. By the death of a maid of honour in the household of the Princess, Hyde's daughter was offered, and accepted, the post, and the future Duchess of York, and mother of Queen Mary and Queen Anne, entered on duty on the staff of the Princess.

It is recorded that in April, 1656, Charles proceeded from Cologne to Bruges in consequence of a negotiation opened with him when Cromwell engaged in hostilities against Spain. Hyde was left behind to settle the King's debts. This was his first despatch to the King:—"Your family here is in an ill condition and your debts great; much owing by you and by those to whom you are indebted; and yet, that the State may not appear more dismal and irreparable to you than in truth it is, give me leave to tell you that 4,000 pistoles would discharge the whole seven months' board wages, which are due, pay all you owe here . . . and honestly remove and bring your family to you."[1] Hyde could not raise this sum, and four months after, still remaining himself in pawn, he wrote the King:—"I confess I do not think that the payment of what is due at Cologne is of the most importance to you, and is to be such an ingredient in the establishing of your future credit, of which you have so much use, that it ought to be accomplished even with some hazard to your Majesty of future inconvenience."[2] Hyde was eventually enabled to pay these debts. In 1658 a great honour was conferred on Hyde, and justly so, for Charles was indebted to him in a manner that no honour could pay. Hyde's attention to Charles during the Cromwell period was beyond all praise. The honour is recorded in the following terms:—"At the Court at Bruges, 13th January, 1658;

[1] Clarendon Papers. [2] *Ibid.*

present His Majesty, the Duke of York, the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland (Ormond), Secretary Nicholas, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. His Majesty declared his resolution to have his Great Seal in the custody of an officer; and therefore had made choice of Sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer, to be Lord Chancellor of England, to whom he forthwith delivered the Great Seal and commanded that he be sworn. Hyde took the oath of supremacy and allegiance. Secretary Nicholas administered the oath, and Hyde took his place by the King's command."

It would appear, that notwithstanding Hyde's supervision, the King's finances continued to be at a very low ebb, and not long after his appointment, Hyde writes :—"Every bit of meat, every drop of drink, all the fire and candles that have been spent since the King came here, are still owing, and how to get credit for a week more is no easy matter." So hard was the Chancellor pressed, that he was obliged to write the following letter, and get Charles to copy it, to his sister, the Princess of Orange:—"I know you are without money, and cannot very easily borrow it, at least upon so little warning; but if you will send me any jewels that I may pawn for £1,500, I do promise you you shall have the jewels again in your hands before Christmas." Before Christmas, however, an astounding event occurred, which relieved Charles of all his financial troubles. Cromwell, on 2nd September, 1658, died at Whitehall, of ague, a trouble that he suffered from for a considerable time. Great was the exultation of Charles and many more at the announcement of this event. Unfortunately, however, when it became known that the Protector's son Richard was to succeed him, the Royalists were paralysed with melancholy. Richard Cromwell's rule, however, was of short duration. In 1659 his Parliament, which sat for three months, was dissolved, a proceeding that turned out fatal to the young Protector, as it was followed by his downfall,

after he had ruled seven months. Hyde was residing at Brussels, and in the interest of Charles, carried on a secret correspondence with England.

Parliament met on 23rd April, 1660, at Westminster, to consider as to the Restoration of Charles, when the general feeling was in his favour. The Long Parliament had been dissolved. He was on 8th May following proclaimed in London by the English Parliament in the following terms:—"Although it can no way be doubted that His Majesty's right and title to his crown and kingdom is, and was, completed by the death of his Royal father of glorious memory, without the ceremony or solemnity of a proclamation: yet since proclamations in such cases have been always used, to the end that all good subjects might on this occasion testify their duty and respect, and since the armed violence and other calamities of many years past have deprived us of any such opportunity, whereby we might express our loyalty and allegiance to His Majesty; we therefore, the Lords and Commons now assembled in Parliament, together with the Lord Mayor, aldermen and Common Council of the city of London, and other freemen of this kingdom now present, do heartily, joyfully and unanimously acknowledge and proclaim, that immediately after the death of our late sovereign lord King Charles, the Imperial crown of England, dominions and rights belonging to the same, did, by inherent birthright and lawful succession, descend to his most Excellent Majesty, Charles II., as being lineally, justly and lawfully, next heir of the blood Royal of this realm; and that by the goodness and providence of Almighty God he is of England, Scotland, France and Ireland the most potent, mighty and undoubted King, and thereunto we humbly and faithfully submit and bind and oblige ourselves, our heirs and posterity for ever. God save the King."

One of the most amusing proposals made to Hyde was that Charles "should gain over General Lambert by marrying his daughter, commanding withal the

beauty and disposition of the lady, the bravery of the father, and the respectability and antiquity of their lineage. Hyde, who warmly espoused the cause of Charles, gave the Presbyterians to understand that they were to be favoured, and he got the King to write many obliging letters to their leaders to the same effect, so that many of them co-operated in the Restoration, hoping that Presbytery was to be adopted as the established religion. The Chancellor now left Brussels secretly, and went to Breda. Here he wrote the "Declaration from Breda," granting pardon to all who would claim it within forty days, and return to loyalty and obedience, saving such persons as should be excepted by Parliament, provided no man should be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; declaring that all questions of grants, sales and purchases of property should be determined in Parliament, and that the army under General Monck, should be taken into the King's service on as good pay as they then enjoyed.[1] Sir John Granville, who had been employed in the negotiations between Charles and General Monck, arrived from Breda with despatches, and was received with acclamation by the House of Commons. He produced a letter from Charles, enclosing the "Declaration of Breda." This Declaration was dated 14th April, 1660: its contents were unimportant.

A deputation from both Houses was sent to Breda to invite Charles to return and take possession of the throne. He accepted the invitation. In company with Hyde he embarked for Dover on 23rd May, 1660. There he was received by General Monck, who had joined the supporters of Charles at Cromwell's death, and together they walked under a rich canopy towards the town. On the way they were met by the Mayor and Corporation, who presented the King with a large Bible ornamented with clasps of gold. On the way to Canterbury the greatest joy prevailed. On Barham

[1] Campbell's Lives.

Downs he was met by a brilliant train of the nobility, and by four regiments composed of the loyal men of Kent. As Charles presented himself at the head of each troop on horseback the men kissed the hilts of their swords, and then mingled their shouts with the clamours of their trumpets. At Canterbury he was met by the Mayor and aldermen, who, after presenting him with a cup of gold, conducted him to the house of Lord Camden. On his way to London, at Blackheath, 29th May, the army was drawn up and received him with acclamation; at Deptford 100 young girls dressed in white and with baskets in their hands walked before him and strewed flowers on his path. At Southwark he was met by the Lord Mayor and aldermen of London and there was a magnificent banquet; from Southwark to Whitehall bands of music were fixed at stated intervals. There were in the procession 20,000 horse and foot; the carriage-way strewed with flowers, bells ringing, fountains running with wine; the Lord Mayor, aldermen, and the city companies in their liveries, chains of gold and banners; lords and nobles clad in cloth of silver, gold and velvet; windows and balconies full of ladies; trumpets, music, and myriads of people. On arrival at Whitehall, amidst the roar of cannon, the members of both Houses were there to receive the King, kiss his hand, and deliver their address of congratulation. Immediately after these rejoicings Parliament met on 1st June, when Lord Chancellor Hyde took his place on the Woolsack, a fitting honour after his fourteen years' privation and exile on the Continent. Parliament, in these days, met at eight o'clock a.m. The King arrived shortly after, and having briefly addressed the House, called on the Lord Chancellor to proceed. The Lord Chancellor addressed Parliament at some length, and after the disposal of some formal business, took his seat in the Court of Chancery, when the usual oaths were administered to him. The King, in addressing the House on 29th August, said: "I must tell you that I am not richer—

that is, I have not so much money in my purse as when I came to you; the truth is I have lived principally ever since on what I brought with me, which was indeed your money; you sent it to me, and I thank you for it. The weekly expense of the Navy eats up all you have given me by the bill of tonnage and poundage; nor have I been able to give my brother one shilling since I came to England, nor keep any table in my house, but where I eat myself. And that which troubles me most is to see many of you come to me at Whitehall, and to think you must go somewhere else to seek a dinner."[1] One of the first things that came up for consideration was Church government. The Chancellor would seem to have considered it his duty to crush the Presbyterians and re-establish the Church of England. But as the Restoration was so far brought about by the Presbyterians, he flattered them by the "Declaration of Breda," and as a politic step ten of the clergy were made Royal chaplains, preaching in turn before the Court. A manifesto was published in the King's name as head of the Church, supposed to be by the Chancellor. After commending the Church of England as the best fence against Popery, and asserting that on all essential points the two parties cordially agreed, it specified the modifications to which the King would assent:—(1) To take away all notion of the bishops being restored to the House of Lords. (2) That such a number of suffragan bishops be appointed as would be sufficient for the service of the church. (3) That bishops do not censure or ordain without the advice of their Presbyters; that the bishop should not act singly but as the President of an Ecclesiastical Board. (4) That the liturgy should be revised by an equal number of divines of both persuasions. (5) Subscriptions to the Thirty-Nine Articles not required for ordination or induction, or for degrees at the universities. It would appear, however, that a bill to convert this manifesto into law was thrown out of the House of Commons on

[1] Clarendon.

the second reading, by a majority of 26 in a House of 340.[1]

At this date—1660—the Lord Chancellor was created Earl of Clarendon. The marriage of his daughter was no sooner announced than preparations were made to enable the Duchess of York to keep her Court at St. James's with the usual state. The life of the Duchess unfortunately was short, as she died in March, 1671, in the thirty-fourth year of her age, to the great grief of her father and her husband. She was interred in the chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey.

When Charles dined this year with the members on the occasion of constituting them a Royal Society, towards the close of the evening he expressed satisfaction at being the first English King who had laid a foundation for a Society which proposed that their sole studies should be directed to the investigation of the arcana of Nature. Among such learned men he now hoped for the solution of a question which had long perplexed him: "Suppose two pails of water were fixed in two different scales that were equally poised, and which weighed equally alike, and that two live small fish were put into either, he wanted to know the reason why that pail with such addition should not weigh more than the other pail which stood against it?" Everyone was ready to satisfy the Royal curiosity, but it appeared that each was giving a different opinion. One at length offered so ridiculous a solution that a member could not refrain from a loud laugh; when the King, turning to him, insisted that he should give his sentiments as well as the rest. This he did, and told His Majesty that he denied the fact; on which the King exclaimed: "Odds fish, brother, but you are in the right."

On 28th November, the bodies of Oliver Cromwell, Henry Ireton, his son-in-law, John Bradshaw, who sentenced Charles I. to death, and Thomas Pryde, who with his regiment committed the outrage on the House of Commons, and ejected by force two-thirds of the

[1] Clarendon.

members, were taken out of their graves, hanged at Tyburn, and burned under the gallows. Cromwell's vault having been opened the people crowded to see him.[1] In connection with this extraordinary proceeding, the work of Charles II., the author of the "Lives of the Chancellors of England," says: "The Lord Chancellor, Hyde, must be severely blamed for suffering the exhumation of Cromwell and some of his associates who had died before the Restoration, hanging them on a gibbet, cutting off their heads, and offering other revolting insults to their remains. These atrocities were committed by the joint resolution of the Houses of Parliament. The Chancellor must have put the resolution from the Woolsack, and issued directions to the Sheriff of Middlesex and other officers of the law to carry it into effect. The inhuman outrage was evidently meant to avenge the murder of the late King.

The Scottish Parliament assembled on 1st January, 1661, and sat for four months. It was opened by General Middleton, the High Commissioner, who was created Earl Middleton in honour of this occasion; he was afterwards superseded by Parliament in 1663. The Earl of Glencairn, who was Sheriff of Ayrshire, was appointed Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and the Earl of Rothes, Lord President. The Estates of the realm had rarely ventured to offer any serious opposition to the will of the sovereign, but the present Parliament proved unusually obsequious. It was proposed to cancel all the proceedings of the various Parliaments and conventions which had been held since 1633, as irregular and unconstitutional, as the late King had been constrained by violence to give them his sanction. In spite of the opposition of Crawford, Cassillis and other Covenanters, this act was passed by a large majority, and thus at one single sweep all the barriers which had been raised to protect the civil and religious liberties of the nation were at once annulled, and a precedent was furnished destructive of all security of

[1] Pepys's Diary.

person or property, and of confidence between the sovereign and people. "It was a maddening time," says Burnet, "when the men of affairs were perpetually drunk;" Middleton himself often took his place on the throne in such a state of intoxication that the House had to be adjourned.[1] At this Parliament the Solemn League and Covenant was condemned as an unlawful oath imposed on the subject contrary to authority. Charles declared that he would maintain the Protestant religion, and allow the present administration of Synods and Presbyteries, and finally this Parliament indicted the Marquis of Argyll for high treason for supporting Cromwell. When the King was restored to the throne, either through accident or design the amnesty which was promised to his English subjects was withheld from Scotland. To the Scots this was a serious matter because of the unscrupulous and arbitrary nature of the King, and specially the imminent danger to the public safety in respect of every person who submitted to Cromwell's rule. Nobody would suppose that Charles would entertain any other feeling to Cromwell than that of the bitterest animosity. But that was a different thing from executing innocent men who had rendered service to the State, on the authority of bogus charges. There was in the meantime no amnesty to be granted to Scotland.

The Scottish Parliament at this date passed an extraordinary number of statutes. Among them were the following:—"The King and Estates of Parliament ratify and approve the gift and grant made to John, Earl of Atholl, during all the days of his life, of the office of Justice General of Scotland, with all its privileges and emoluments, with power to appoint deputies and appoint Courts of Justice in Edinburgh and other places; to hold Justice Ayres and circuits according to act of Parliament of 1587, and other acts. Charles II. ratified to John, Earl of Atholl, in 1661, the office of heritable bailiary of Dunkeld; charters dated

[1] Taylor.

1577 and 1584." The act annexing Orkney and Shetland was passed in 1662. It was further enacted that those who should hereafter marry, or get married in a clandestine or unlawful manner, contrary to the established order of the Church, or by Jesuits, priests, deposed or suspended ministers, shall be imprisoned for three months, shall pay each nobleman £5,000 Scots, each baron and landed gentleman 5,000 merks, each gentleman and burgess £1,000; each other person 500 merks, and to be imprisoned until these are paid. These moneys to be applied to pious uses within the parishes where the parties reside. The celebrators of such marriages to be banished the kingdom for ever.

The first victim of Charles's displeasure was the first Marquis of Argyll. Charles knew he could not capture Argyll in his own country, and therefore in a friendly letter he treacherously invited him to London. Argyll, suspecting nothing, accepted the invitation. While waiting in the privy chamber at Whitehall to kiss the King's hand, he was suddenly arrested and taken to the Tower as a quondam traitor and regicide, it being asserted that he had secretly encouraged the Republicans to put the late King to death; he was sent to Edinburgh to be tried by his enemies. This arrest was an act of base ingratitude on the part of the King, seeing Argyll at the coronation had put the crown on his head. It was in the highest degree dishonourable, and admits of no defence. If it was treason to lead the Covenanters in their various engagements, then Argyll was a traitor. But Argyll's defence at his protracted trial, early in 1661, was not only noble, it was unanswerable, and demanded his instant release from prison. What are his own words? During the late unhappy commotions "he had acted by the authority of Parliament, not on his own responsibility. The proceedings of the Covenanters were covered by the act of oblivion, passed by Charles I., and by the indemnity granted by his present Majesty at the Parliament of Stirling; the atrocities imputed to his clan were either fictitious

or greatly exaggerated; they had been provoked by the cruelties inflicted on the district, which had been twice wasted by fire and sword; and whatever might be their nature, they could not be imputed to him, as they were perpetrated during his absence in England; and as for compliance with the late usurpation,[1] the whole kingdom shared it equally with himself; that it was necessary for his own preservation that he did not submit till the whole nation had acquiesced in the rule of the Commonwealth, and resistance was no longer practicable; that his submission to the existing Government did not imply a recognition of its original title, much less a treasonable opposition to the rightful heir while excluded from the throne, and," he concluded, "could I suppose I was acting criminally when a man so learned as His Majesty's advocate took the same oath to the Commonwealth as I did? Concerning that horrid and unparalleled murder of his late Majesty, I do here publicly declare that I do not deserve the least countenance or favour if I was either accessory to it or in the counsel or knowledge of it; which to make clearly appear is under oath in the Parliament Book of 1649; whereof I was the first starter myself to the intent that we might both vindicate ourselves and endeavour a discovery if any amongst us had any accession to that horrid and villainous crime; as also in my latter will which I made, going to England in 1655 or 1656, fearing what possibly might hereafter be obtruded by any upon me or my family upon that account; I set it down to clear my posterity that I was altogether free of that detestable crime or of any prejudice to His Majesty in either person or government. I left this with a very worthy gentleman, and never saw it since; so your lordship may be pleased if you will, to call for it and try the truth. Whatsoever other thing may be in it I hope this opportunity is a mercy to me to have this vile calumny against me cleared."

[1] Cromwell.

Argyll, notwithstanding this able defence, was found guilty, and was on 27th May, 1661, beheaded at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, and his head placed on the Tolbooth, where it remained three years. Some other unfortunate victims were executed after him, including James Guthrie, a well-known and greatly respected minister of the time. What are we to think of the administration of Scotland in 1661, when such eminent men could be executed on the mere *ipse dixit* of an incapable and vindictive ruler? It was a humiliating condition of the realm, and reflects unqualified discredit on the Scottish Parliament of the period. These executions were calculated to create very general animosity against the King.

The Earl of Argyll, immediately before his execution, wrote his two daughters-in-law as follows:—

My Dear Lady Sophia,—What shall I say in this great day of the Lord wherein in the midst of a cloud I find a fair sunshine? I can wish no more for you but that the Lord might comfort you and shine upon you as he doth upon me, and give you the same sense of His love in staying in the world as I have in going out of it.

Dear Lady Henrietta,—I pray God to bless and sanctify this lot to you. Our concerns are strangely mixed; the Lord look on them! I know all shall turn to good to them that fear God and hope in His mercy. So I know you do, and that you may still do it more and more is my wish for you; the Lord comfort you.—I am, your loving father and servant,

Argyll.

The coronation of Charles, in presence, it is said, of 10,000 people, took place in Westminster Abbey, 23rd April, 1661. In the centre the throne was erected. The Dean and prebendaries of Westminster, and the bishops, led the procession, followed by the peers in their Parliament robes; these were followed by the

King and the Duke of York; Lord Sandwich, who carried the sceptre, and other officers the sword and crown. The King was in his Royal robes and bare-headed. All being seated, there was divine service, and a special sermon by the Dean of Westminster. In the choir at the high altar the King went through all the ceremony of the coronation. The crown being placed on his head there was great acclamation, and he then ascended the throne where he took the coronation oath. The lords and bishops then knelt before him. Three times the Lyon King proclaimed that if anyone could show reason why Charles Stuart should not be King of England he should now come forward and speak. A general pardon was then read by the Lord Chancellor, followed by an indiscriminate distribution of silver medals by Lord Cornwallis. The King then came into the hall with the crown on his head, the sceptre in his hand, under a canopy borne by six silver staves, carried by barons of the Cinque Ports with bells at each end. They sat down at their several tables; the King's first course being carried by the Knights of the Bath. The Earl of Northumberland, Lord High Constable of England, accompanied by Lords Suffolk and Ormond, entered the hall on horseback and stayed so all the time of dinner. They then brought up the King's champion in armour on horseback with his spear and target carried before him, the York Herald proclaiming: "If any dare deny Charles Stuart to be lawful King of England, here is a champion who would fight with him." The champion then threw down his gauntlet. This was done three times in his going up to the King's table; the King then drank his health and sent him the cup, which was of gold. The champion drank it off, and then rode back to the King's table with the cup in his hand. Dinner concluded at six p.m.; it was enlivened with music of all sorts, including twenty-four violins. At the close of the proceedings, which lasted two days, there came on a violent thunderstorm.

A curious incident is recorded about the regalia: the

crown, sceptre and sword. The Estates of Parliament met, as already stated, on 1st January, 1661. Immediately on the Restoration came the question, What had become of these? It was naturally supposed that they had been removed to London, but they were not there. Were they destroyed or taken abroad? It was at last announced that they were safe at home, but their escape had been narrow; they had been in the custody of the Earl Marischal at Dunnottar since Cromwell's invasion. During that turbulent time two women, the wife of the commander of the castle, and the wife of the minister of the adjoining parish of Kinneff, formed a plan for concealing the regalia. The minister's wife carried them out through the besieging army; the crown lay in her lap; the sword and sceptre seemed to have made a sort of distaff, for a mass of lint, which, like a thrifty matron, she was busily spinning into thread. The minister buried them at night under the pavement of the church, and there they remained in concealment. Their discovery was hailed with much delight by the Scottish people, as by the recovery of the regalia the Estates were enabled to assemble with all due pomp and ceremony.[1]

On 8th May, 1661, the Chancellor had to meet the new English Parliament. On the first day of the session, the King having spoken at greater length than usual, still referred the two Houses for a further explanation of his views to the Lord Chancellor. The Commons began the session with the following resolution:—"That all their members should forthwith take the Sacrament, according to the rights of the Church of England, on pain of expulsion from the House." The Lord Chancellor encouraged the Lords to join the Commons in an order that the Solemn League and Covenant which Charles had signed should be burned by the common hangman, along with the ordinance for the trial of the late King, for establishing the Commonwealth, and the security of the Lord Protector.[2] Not-

[1] Hill Burton. [2] Clarendon.

withstanding his solemn oath to maintain Pesbyterianism, Charles now sent a letter to the Privy Council, in which, after alluding to his promise that he would maintain the Church as settled by law, and pleading that Parliament had now rescinded the acts respecting its government passed during the Civil War, he says: "We therefore, from our respect to the glory of God, the good and interest of the Protestant religion, from our pious care and princely zeal for the peace and stability of the Church and its better harmony with the government of the Church of England, have, after mature deliberation, declared to our council here our firm resolution to interpose our Royal authority for the restoring of that Church to its right government by bishops as it was before the late troubles." A proclamation was immediately issued announcing the restoration of the bishops, prohibiting meetings of Synods and Assemblies, and forbidding all preaching against the change, on pain of imprisonment. Burghs, under severe penalties, were ordered to elect no magistrates who had Presbyterian principles; Episcopacy being now established, it became necessary to appoint bishops. James Sharp, Professor of Divinity, St. Andrews; James Hamilton, minister, Cambusnethan; Robert Leighton, Principal of the College, Edinburgh; and Andrew Fairfoul, minister of Duns. These were first ordained deacons, and were now consecrated bishops, by which act they renounced the validity of their former ordination. Sharp was made Archbishop of St. Andrews; Fairfoul, Archbishop of Glasgow; Hamilton, bishop of Galloway; and Leighton, bishop of Dunblane. On their return home they consecrated the rest of the Scots bishops. Parliament ordained all ministers to attend the Diocesan Assembly, and concur in all acts of Church discipline, under pain of suspension. Those who had entered on their charges since 1649 had no right to uplift the revenues until they received a presentation from the patron, and had collation from the bishop of the diocese. In the West, the clergy continued to occupy

their pulpits, and resolved not to recognise the bishops. Middleton was determined to enforce the law for the support of Episcopacy, and made a tour through the West, accompanied by some members of the Privy Council. The scenes of profaneness and debauchery which took place during this progress created great disgust. An act of council was framed at a meeting where only two of the members were sober, declaring that all ministers admitted since 1649, when patronage was abolished, and had not complied with the act of Parliament, should be deprived of their livings, and expelled from their parishes, and if necessary displaced by military force. To the surprise of the commissioners, and the mortification of the bishops, nearly 400 ministers at once resigned their charges rather than comply with this tyrannical act.[1] The old religion was revised without any attempt to conciliate the most reasonable Presbyterians. Episcopal ordination was now for the first time made an indispensable qualification for Church preferment.

This year the King was feasted at the Inner Temple by the Lord Chancellor, "the Autumn Reader." The feast lasted six days, and the King and the Duke of York were entertained on the last day. On this occasion the King came from Whitehall in his state barge, and landing at the Temple stairs, was there received by the "Reader" and the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas. Passing thence through a double file of the "Reader's" servants, clothed in scarlet cloaks and white doublets, he took his way through a breach made expressly for the occasion in the wall which at that time enclosed the Temple garden, and moved on through a lane formed of benchers and students belonging to the society. After dinner there was dancing and merriment to a late hour.

In March, 1662, the Lord Chancellor brought in an Act of Uniformity which, on St. Bartholomew's Day following, ejected 2,000 ministers from their livings,

[1] Taylor.

and, if rigidly enforced as it was intended to be, would have established a system of persecution unparalleled in any Protestant country, and deprived the Church of England of the support of those who now form the Wesleyan and other bodies.[1] Those ministers who would not conform were driven out of their benefices in one day. Then came penal statutes against Nonconformists. The Presbyterians in terror appealed to the King. The King wavered; he made a feeble attempt to restrain the intolerant zeal of the House of Commons. After a faint struggle he yielded and passed a series of odious acts against Separatists. It was made a crime to attend a dissenting place of worship. A single Justice of the Peace might convict without a jury, and might for the third offence pass sentence of transportation for seven years. If the accused returned before the expiration of his sentence he was liable to capital punishment. Ministers deprived of their benefices, and those who refused to take the test, were prohibited from coming within five miles of any town governed by a corporation or represented in Parliament, or where they had resided as ministers. There was no excess which was not encouraged by the ostentatious profligacy of the King and of his favourite courtiers. Scarcely any rank or profession escaped the infection of the prevailing immorality.[2]

At the conclusion of the last session of Parliament the King's marriage with Catherine of Braganza, the Infanta of Portugal, was celebrated. The Lord Chancellor incurred great odium for concurring in this match. The Spanish Ambassador wished to break it off, having publicly declared that the Princess never could have children. This statement, which turned out true, was treated as gratuitous.

It is recorded by more than one writer that Charles's marriage was not a very happy one, and when we consider the immorality of his conduct that need not surprise us. Clarendon says the Queen was so dis-

[1] Hill Burton. [2] Macaulay.

pleased with him that she threatened to leave him and return to Portugal. In place of apologising for his conduct and making peace with the lady, he told her she would do well first to know if her mother would receive her; and he would give her an opportunity of knowing that by sending home all her Portuguese servants. One thing that troubled him constantly, and became chronic, was his scarcity of money. In the record of his reign we have abundant proof of that. He was twice offered a loan from France, and Clarendon twice refused it. The loan was a third time offered, and Clarendon wrote the Ambassador: "We have had many matters of greater importance to settle with Parliament about to meet than the procuring of money, till the other things are done; and yet you will easily believe that the King, before that time, may be in some straits which he will not willingly own. If this should fall out to be the case, do you believe, if the King desired it, that the French King will lend him £50,000 for twelve months, in which time it shall be punctually paid?" The loan was granted. The character of the King is pretty well illustrated in a letter to Clarendon at this period. Clarendon had remonstrated seriously with him for trying to make Lady Castlemaine, his mistress (afterwards Duchess of Cleveland), one of the ladies of the bedchamber, and received the following reply: "I wish I may be unhappy in this world, and in the world to come, if I fail in the least degree of what I have resolved, which is of making my Lady Castlemaine of my wife's bedchamber. I am resolved to go through with this matter, which again I solemnly swear before Almighty God. Therefore, if you wish to have the continuance of my friendship, meddle no more with this business except it be to bear down all false and scandalous reports, and to facilitate what I am sure my honour is so much concerned in; and whoever I find to be Lady Castlemaine's enemy in this matter I promise to be his enemy as long as I live. You may show this letter to my Lord-Lieutenant, and if you have both a

mind to oblige me carry yourselves like friends to me in this matter."

We come now to a transaction of great importance, viz., the sale of Dunkirk to France by the English Government. This transaction was carried out almost exclusively by that able statesman Clarendon. It would be unreasonable to condemn him for the negotiation altogether. He carried it out under a keen sense of duty at a time when money was urgently needed, difficult to obtain, and the King deeply in debt. This sale would appear to have taken place on 19th May, 1662, at the price of five millions of livres (£250,000 sterling). Clarendon had many enemies, and the history of the time clearly shows that great disapproval was expressed when this transaction was completed. No harm, however, seems to have resulted by the sale, but the application of the proceeds remains a mystery. From all accounts Charles's private purse appears to have got a good share to meet his reckless expenditure. This led to an altercation between him and Clarendon, when the latter said to him : "On several representations the Lord Treasurer has made to you regarding your expenses how far they exceed your receipts, and how you have spent some time in considering how to improve the one and lessen the other," but no satisfactory answer was given. After the sale of Dunkirk, Clarendon's new house in Piccadilly was by the multitude nicknamed "Dunkirk House."

Parliament met at Edinburgh on 18th June, 1662, when stringent measures were adopted against Presbyterian ministers ; those who refused to attend diocesan meetings were to be ejected ; if they preached after ejection they were to be punished for sedition ; they and their families were to remove from their parishes within twenty days, and not to reside within twenty miles of the same. Every nobleman or heritor who should wilfully absent himself from the parish church was to forfeit a fourth part of his year's rent ; tenants and burgesses a fourth part of their movables, together with the freedom

of the burgh, and such corporal punishment as the Privy Council might ordain. There was to be a General Assembly, consisting of archbishops, bishops, deans and archdeacons, perpetual moderators, with one minister from each Presbytery, and two from each university, the King to raise 50,000 foot and 2,000 horse to serve in any part of the kingdom. This meeting, as an additional act of despotism, ordered the execution of Sir Archibald Johnstone, Lord Warriston, one of the principal leaders of the Covenanters, a man of great sagacity and eloquence, who had incurred the hatred of the King by the freedom with which he had censured his profligacy during his residence in Scotland. Warriston escaped to the Continent, but was tracked and betrayed, and was on 22nd July beheaded at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh. He was an eminent lawyer, belonged to Annandale, and had been named as one of the commissioners chosen on 9th August, 1643, for the purpose of mediating between Charles I. and his Parliament, but Charles, viewing him as a dangerous opponent, refused him a pass, and he remained in Edinburgh. These oppressive proceedings resulted in the Covenanters resorting to arms. This Parliament ordained Middleton to be superseded as Lord High Commissioner to the Parliament of Scotland, and the Earl of Rothes was appointed in his place. Rothes was also appointed Lord Treasurer. This was the seventh Earl. Rothes in 1667 was appointed Lord Chancellor of Scotland.

On 10th July, 1663, an extraordinary speech was made in the House of Lords by the Earl of Bristol, impeaching Lord Chancellor Clarendon as the cause why the King's affairs grew worse every day; and for the King having lost the honour and affection of his people; that he had arrogated to himself the direction of His Majesty's affairs at home and abroad; with popery; for selling Dunkirk; and for enriching himself and his creatures by the sale of offices. Clarendon made an animated defence, contending that all the charges

which were not quite frivolous were false; that none of them amounted to treason; and that an impeachment for treason could not thus be commenced by one peer against another. The judges, being summoned for their opinion, concurred with Clarendon, and the Earl of Bristol was censured and ordered to be arrested. This speech by Bristol showed the rising of an opposition to Clarendon which ultimately overpowered him.[1]

We get from a gossipy writer of the period[2] an illustration of how Charles dissolved Parliament:—"On 27th July, 1663, the King sat on the throne and read his speech, which he had in his hand, scarcely looking off all the time. He thanked Parliament for the subsidies, of which, had he not need, he would not have asked them; that need not being from any extravagance of his, but the disorders of the times compelling him to be at greater charge than he hoped for the future by their care he should be. For his family expenses he would labour to retrench in many things convenient, and would have others to do so too. He desired that old faults should not be remembered, or severity for the same used towards anyone; it being his desire to have all forgotten and forgiven. He promised that though the acts about conventicles and papists were not ripe for passing this session, he would see that neither of them in the interval should be encouraged to the endangering of the peace; and that at their next meeting he would himself prepare two bills on the subject. He then prorogued Parliament to 16th March following." He

[1] The King minds nothing but pleasure and hates the very sight of business; Lady Castlemaine rules him, she having all the trickery of Aretus. If any of the sober counsellors give him good advice and move him in anything for his good, the others who are the counsellors of pleasure take him when he is with that lady and is in good humour, and persuade him that he ought not to hear or listen to the advice of those old dotards who were hitherto his enemies; whom God knows, it is they who most study his honour.—(Pepys.)

[2] Pepys.

spoke imperfectly, repeating his words even though they were written.[1]

In March, 1664, Parliament was opened by the King and Queen in person. Clarendon was not present, but he is said to have prompted the King's speech, the substance of which was: "I have often myself read over the bill.[2] . . . I have always expected that you would, and even wondered that you have not, considered the wonderful clauses in that bill. I need not tell you how much I love Parliaments; never King was so much beholden to Parliaments as I have been; nor do I think the Crown can ever be happy without frequent Parliaments. But assure yourselves, if I should think otherwise, I *would never suffer a Parliament to come together by the means prescribed by that bill.*" A repealing act rapidly passed both Houses, providing that Parliaments should not be intermitted more than three years.[3]

The Dutch war was now undertaken (1665), from commercial jealousy of the English nation, and from the King's hope of diverting to private purposes part of the supplies voted by Parliament for carrying it on. Clarendon opposed this. At a meeting at Clarendon's house, he being laid up, Sir George Downey ventured to express an opinion that the money voted should be applied to particular services, instead of forming separate funds, to be applied at the pleasure of the Crown. This drew from Clarendon the reprimand that "it was impossible for the King to be well served whilst fellows of his condition were admitted to speak as much

[1] In October the Queen was laid down with spotted fever, and was very ill, being as full of spots as a leopard. The King hath taken it much to heart, and weeps beside her; but for all that, he has not missed one night since she was sick of supping with Lady Castlemaine, which I believe is true, for she says that her husband hath dressed the suppers every night. I saw him myself coming through the street dressing a supper to-night, which Sarah says is for the King and her. The Queen recovered from her fever.—(Pepys's Diary.)

[2] Triennial Parliaments. [3] Campbell's Lives.

as they had a mind to, and that in the best times such presumption had been punished with imprisonment by the Lords of the Council."[1] On 15th August, 1665, Parliament voted the King £1,250,000 to pay his debts; a similar amount had been voted in 1661.

Among the persecutions of 1666 we have what is known as the battle of Rullion Green. The circumstances which more immediately led up to this engagement are narrated by one of our historians.[2] It would appear that on 30th November four countrymen, after great hardships, arrived at the village of Dalry, New Galloway, to get refreshment. Near that place they accidentally met with three or four soldiers driving before them some people who were neighbours to a poor old man there, who had fled from his house. The object of the soldiers was to oblige these people to thrash the old man's corn, that they might get money to satisfy his Church fines. Whilst taking their refreshment, they were informed that the old man was caught, and that the soldiers were going to torture him. The four countrymen went to the spot. There was a scuffle, in which one of the four men fired a pistol and wounded a soldier. This made them yield, and the four men disarmed the soldiers, made them prisoners, and set the old man free. There were twelve soldiers at a post close by, and with the assistance of some neighbours they seized these men. Volunteers joined the little group who had captured the soldiers; they increased rapidly in numbers until, it is said, there were 3,000 of them. They made for Edinburgh, going *via* the Lanarkshire hills, after which they ascended the western shoulder of the Pentlands. That notable tyrant, General Thomas Dalziel, commander of the Royalists in Scotland, hearing of this rising, went off immediately in search of the New Galloway Covenanters.

On 28th November they came to close quarters at Rullion Green, Midlothian, and after a desperate struggle,

[1] Campbell's Lives. [2] Hill Burton.

which resulted in the defeat of the Covenanters, fifty of them were slain, upwards of thirty taken prisoners, all of whom were treated with cruelty; twenty were executed at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, ten on one gibbet, seven at Ayr, and some before their own doors in different parts of the country. The heads of the twenty were placed on the city gates; their right arms on the prison of Lanark, where they had subscribed the Covenant. They all with their dying breath declared that they had taken up arms solely against the insupportable tyranny of the bishops. Many of the captured Covenanters suffered the brutal treatment of the boot, a diabolical punishment. At this period, Hugh M'Kail was executed (22nd December, 1666). He was a young man of only twenty years of age, and had offended the ruling powers by a sermon in which he declared that the Church of Scotland "had been persecuted by a Pharaoh on the throne, a Haman in the state, and a Judas in the Church." He concluded his speech on the scaffold as follows:—"Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations; farewell the world and all its delights; welcome sweet Jesus Christ, the Mediator of the new Covenant; welcome blessed Spirit of Grace, the God of all consolation; welcome glory, welcome eternal hope, and welcome death." It is said that there was such a lamentation for M'Kail as was never known in Scotland, and that there was not one dry cheek in all the street, or in all the numberless windows in the market-place. The effect of these savage cruelties was so injurious to the Government that an order was sent by the King to the Privy Council to stay the executions and to substitute banishment.

In 1666, a great naval battle took place between the English and Dutch fleets, which lasted some days, and was fought with determined courage on both sides. The Duke of Albemarle and Prince Rupert commanded the English with seventy-four sail The Dutch fleet of equal strength was commanded by De Ruyter and Van Tromp. The Dutch had the best of it in the early

stages, and pursued the English to the Thames. Here the English were reinforced, and in the engagement which followed the Dutch were defeated.[1] While negotiations for peace were going on the Dutch fleet crossed the Channel, took Sheerness, burned Chatham Dock-yard, sank several ships of war in the Thames, sailed up the river as far as Gravesend, and after blockading the port of London, withdrew at their leisure to their own harbour (July, 1667). The peace of Breda soon removed the apprehension of invasion, but the disgrace which the nation had suffered sank deep in the public mind. The people credited Clarendon, the Lord Chancellor, with being the cause of it all. When the Dutch fleet reached Gravesend, a mob broke the windows of his new house in Piccadilly, and painted a gibbet on the gate with the words :

> Three sights to be seen
> Dunkirk, Tangiers, and a barren Queen.
> —*Campbell's Lives.*

This year Charles fell in love with Miss Stuart, one of the Blantyre family, a lady of great beauty, granddaughter of Walter, first Lord Blantyre. The Duke of Richmond had also paid his respects to her. Clarendon was shocked when he heard of the King's conduct, and immediately set about getting the lady married clandestinely to the Duke to save the King's reputation. This he eventually accomplished. For this Charles never forgave him, but gradually drew away from his old friend and benefactor.[2]

[1] Hume's England.

[2] We get a brief insight into a Court ball which took place at Whitehall on the Queen's birthday, 15th November, 1666; the house grew full and the candles light, and the King and Queen and all the ladies sat. It was a brilliant sight to see Miss Stuart in black and white lace, and her head and shoulders dressed with diamonds; similarly were many ladies, but the Queen none. The King wore his rich vest of some rich silk and silver trimming; as the Duke of York and all the dancers were, some of cloth of silver, and others exceedingly rich. After the King arrived, he

On 8th December 1666, the King gave orders to the Lord Chamberlain to send to play-houses and brothels and bid all the Parliament men who were there to go to Parliament presently. It was a proviso of the Poll Bill that there be a committee of nine persons, who shall have the inspection upon oath of all the accounts of the money given and spent for this war. The King was heard to say that he would dissolve Parliament rather than pass the bill with this proviso. The King lately paid £30,000 to clear the debts of Lady Castlemaine; she and her husband had parted for ever.[1]

In March, 1667, the Duke of Buckingham was engaged in a formidable conspiracy against the person and government of Charles. The King was exasperated when Buckingham's treason was first announced to him, and a proclamation was issued for Buckingham's apprehension. Buckingham concealed himself in his country house in Yorkshire. Serjeant Bearcroft was sent there to arrest him, but the Duchess, who knew what was going on, set out for Yorkshire, reaching her house an hour before the officer. The officer, on arrival, found the door shut against him. Next day he was allowed to search the house, but the Duke had escaped. Three months afterwards the Duke surrendered, and was put in the Tower, brought before the Privy Council and examined in presence of the King, to whom he was very submissive. He was remanded to the Tower, but being a favourite of the King, he was shortly afterwards set at liberty.[2] Buckingham and the King being reconciled, after having been estranged for a considerable period, Buckingham was anxious for the formation of a new administration, in which the King

took the Queen, and with fourteen more couples, danced the "bransles." The ladies were all dressed in rich gowns and petticoats, with abundance of diamonds and pearls. After the "bransles" there was a corant, and now and then a French dance. The spectacle was fascinating. It broke up at midnight.—(Pepys.)

[1] Pepys's Diary. [2] Jesse's Memoirs.

supported him. Clarendon's influence at this date was on the decline. Lady Castlemaine appears to have had too much influence over the King, and she insisted on his requiring Clarendon to deliver up the Great Seal. The King foolishly obeyed this request, and Clarendon requested an audience to discuss the matter. This took place on 26th August, 1667. Clarendon demanded to know what fault he had committed. The King said he had no fault, but had adopted this plan for his good, and that taking the Great Seal from him would please Parliament. Clarendon replied: "Your Majesty has the undoubted right to dispose of my office as seems best and to deprive me of the Great Seal, but I have a right to defend my honour, and I will not suffer it to be believed that I voluntarily gave up the Seal as confessing wrong; nor, if I am deprived of it, will I acknowledge this deprivation to be done in my favour or in order to do me good; and so far am I from fearing the justice of Parliament that I renounce your Majesty's protection or interposition towards my preservation." The King: "You have not enough reflected on the power of Parliament or their hostility to you, however groundless that may be, and my own condition of the recent miscarriages is such that I cannot dispute with them, and am myself at their mercy." Clarendon; "Suffer not your spirits to fall nor yourself to be dejected about the formidable power of Parliament, which is more or less or nothing, as you please to make it. It is yet in your power to govern them, but if they find it is theirs to govern you, nobody knows what the end will be." After this interview the King sent Morrin, his Secretary of State, to receive the Great Seal from Clarendon, which Clarendon delivered up. Morrin gave it to the King, who was in Lady Castlemaine's apartment, surrounded by Clarendon's enemies, when May, one of them, embracing His Majesty's knees, exclaimed: "Sir, you are now a King." The King might have been a better

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man if his ministers had spoken to him as independently and forcibly as Clarendon did. The surrender of the Great Seal was followed by the impeachment of the Lord Chancellor.[1]

So fell the Earl of Clarendon, from whose fall we may date the beginning of all the misfortunes which happened afterwards, and the decay of the authority of the Crown. He performed his public duties with great dexterity and fidelity.

[1] The King and Lady Castlemaine are parted company. She is gone away and is pregnant, and swears the King shall own the child. She will have it christened in the chapel of Whitehall and owned by the King; or she will bring it into Whitehall gallery and murder it before the King's face. The King and Court were never so bad as they are now for gaming, swearing, women and drinking, and all vices. On 29th July the King dissolved Parliament till October, at which the House was much dissatisfied, as many members had come long distances. The King's attention was taken up with his ladies. There was a considerable volume of business to do had Parliament sat, but they evidently were resolved to vote no more money to the King until they had a proper statement of what he had already got. The kingdom was in a very troubled and unsatisfactory condition.—(Pepys's Diary.)

CHAPTER VII.

Clarendon's Letter to the Lords—Death of Clarendon—Expelled Clergy restored—Charles signs Catholic Treaty—Maitland of Lauderdale—Curious Statutes of Scottish Parliament—Dismissal of Lord Shaftesbury—King £4,000,000 in debt—Jesuit Conspiracy—Execution of Stafford and four Priests—Murder of Archbishop Sharp—Defeat of Claverhouse at Drumclog—Battle of Bothwell Brig—Covenanters in Greyfriars Churchyard—Their proclamation against the King—Battle of Aird's Moss and execution of Cameron—King dissolves Oxford Parliament—The Rye House Plot—Execution of Baillie of Jerviswoode—Death and last moments of the King—His Character—His natural Children.

REIGN OF CHARLES II.

A.D. 1649—1685.

PARLIAMENT reassembled on 10th October, 1667, when the King referred to the dismissal of Clarendon in these words :—"When we last met here eleven weeks ago I thought fit to prorogue Parliament to this day, resolving that there should be a session now, and to give myself time to do some things I have since done which I hope will not be unwelcome to you, but a foundation of greater confidence between us for the future." There was a joint address from both Houses on this occasion, in the following terms:—"We are grateful to you for your Majesty's care in quickening the execution of the act against the importation of foreign cattle, and more especially that your Majesty hath been pleased to displace the Lord Chancellor, and remove him from the exercise of public trust and employment in the affairs of State." The King: "I am glad the things I have done have given you so much satisfaction ; and for the Earl of Clarendon, I assure you I will never employ him again." The House of Commons very injudiciously

resolved to impeach Clarendon, and a committee to whom it was referred drew up an indictment of seventeen charges. These were all negatived except one, which charged him with betraying the King to the enemy in certain negotiations. This very general charge was carried by 161 to 89, but the House of Lords threw it out.

The treatment of Clarendon by the English Parliament cannot be defended. Considering his devoted services to the King and to the nation his impeachment was an act of base ingratitude. The Duke of York sent a message to him that it was necessary for him to be gone, and that he had the King's word for all that had been undertaken by the bishop of Hereford. Clarendon set out for France the same night accompanied by his two sons and two other friends, crossed London Bridge, and proceeded to a small port on the Thames, four miles from Woolwich, named Erith, where he went on board a small vessel which was waiting for him and crossed over to France. An eminent writer[1] says: "I must express my surprise that he did not persist in his resolution to remain and face the accusation. He owed no sacrifice to the King for the purpose of extricating the Government from the embarrassment in which they were placed by this scandalous prosecution. He had a reasonable safeguard from violence in the firmness of the House of Lords, and he might have braved the threat of sending him to the Tower and bringing him to trial before a packed tribunal."

Clarendon left behind him a letter to the House of Lords containing a vindication of his conduct, concluding:—"I most humbly beseech your lordships that I may not forfeit your favour and protection by withdrawing myself from so powerful a prosecution, in the hope that I may be able hereafter to appear and make my defence when His Majesty's justice, to which I shall always submit, may not be obstructed nor controlled by the power and malice of those who have sworn

[1] Campbell.

my destruction." This letter was received with dissatisfaction, and the Commons resolved that it be burned by the common hangman. They sent this resolution to the Lords, who so far forgot their dignity as to concur. This pitiful mode of showing spite against writings which perhaps could not be refuted continued in fashion for a century after. The enemies of Clarendon, with the concurrence of the King, introduced a bill in the House of Lords to the effect that unless he returned and surrendered himself before 10th February, 1668, he was to be banished for life, disabled from ever again holding office, subjected if he afterwards returned to England to the penalties of high treason, and rendered incapable of pardon without the consent of both Houses. A strong protest against this was signed by several peers on the ground that it was unjust to punish a man for withdrawing, against whom no legal charge had been brought. . . . The bill encroached on the Royal prerogative by depriving the King of the power to pardon. It was carried in the Commons by 65 to 42. Charles, to his disgrace, supported it in all its stages. The treatment which Clarendon received from the King during the last few years of his life was that of unqualified and cruel persecution. When Clarendon arrived in France he was received by Louis XIV. with every mark of distinction, and horses and carriages placed at his disposal. He desired to go to Rouen, and when halfway between Dieppe and that place two servants rode up to him and handed him a letter from the French King requiring him to leave French territory immediately. This was the order of Charles, which greatly disconcerted him. Whether by accident or design, the coach which conveyed him was three times overturned before reaching Rouen and he was seriously bruised. Here he was informed by his son, who sent him a copy of the act, that Parliament had banished him for life, branded him as a traitor, unless he surrendered himself. He resolved to face his enemies,

and at once set out for England, but broke down at Calais and was unable to proceed further. He lay in bed for some weeks; the date for appearing in England had gone past, and he was now a banished man. He resolved to go to Avignon, and on his way there slept a night at Évreux, when a strange scene occurred. A company of English seamen who had been employed in the French artillery lay in the town, and when they heard of the arrival of Clarendon, whom they had heard spoken of in England as the author of the bad measures which enabled the Dutch to get to Chatham, and the person who had applied the money voted for the support of the Navy to the embellishment of Dunkirk House, flocked round his window, declaring that there were many months' arrears due to them from England, and that they would make him pay the whole before he should leave the place. The ringleader entered the window, threw open the door, and admitted his companions. Clarendon was sitting on his bed, and was knocked down and stunned by a blow on the head from the flat side of a broad-sword. They rifled his pockets, broke open his trunks, and plundered his goods. The ringleader protested against stabbing him in his bedroom as conduct unworthy of English seamen, and proposed that a gibbet should be erected in the courtyard in the fashion of a yard-arm, from which he should be suspended. They were in the act of dragging him through the corridor to the place of execution when the commanding officer arrived and their victim was rescued. The rioters were seized by the magistrates, and the ringleader and two others broken on the wheel.[1] Clarendon afterwards proceeded to Montpellier, where he remained two years and completed his "History of the Rebellion."

After the retirement from office of Lord Clarendon, Charles's Government was much depreciated, and was composed of unprincipled men bent upon the restoration of Popery and absolute monarchy. Charles, as

[1] Campbell's Lives.

usual, was requiring money, and in 1668 basely accepted pecuniary gifts and a pension from the French Government. The wretched financial condition into which the Royal House of Stuart had fallen after the cavaliers were defeated, and when Charles I. was near his end, is scarcely credible without looking at the facts in detail. So bad was the Prince of Wales' credit that he could not borrow £200 of a banker at The Hague, even when pledging his credit with that of his brother, the Duke of York; so that it required the additional bond of a member of the latter Prince's suite to persuade another man of business to advance the money.[1] We have the assurance that the Queen-mother of England (Henrietta Maria) was living with her daughter, the Duchess of Orleans, absolutely without a faggot to light a fire, in the apartment of the Louvre which they inhabited.[2]

Clarendon, in 1671, wrote to the King "that an old man who had served the Crown above thirty years in some trust, and with some acceptation, might be permitted to end his days, which could not be many, in his own country and in the society of his children."

[1] On 1st September, 1667, Ashburnham, one of the grooms of the bedchamber, scolded the keeper of the wardrobe for want of linen for the King's person, which, he said, was not to be endured, and that the King's father would have hanged him had he been served so. The King had no handkerchiefs, and but three bands to his neck. The keeper pleaded want of money and being owing the linen-draper £5,000: and that he had of late got many rich things made—beds, shirts and saddles—without money, but that he could go no further. He said it was the grooms taking away the King's linen at the quarter's end as their fee which made this great want. They all run away at quarter's end with what the King has, and let him get more if he can.—(Pepys.)

On 23rd Ocbober, 1668, the King was intoxicated at Sassam, near Bury St. Edmunds, with Sedley, Buckhurst, etc., the night that Lord Arlington came there. The King would not give him an audience, or could not, which is true, for it was the night that I was there and saw the King go up to his chamber, and was told that he had been drinking.—(Pepys.)

[2] Memoirs of Cardinal Ritz.

The request was refused. In the summer of 1674 he moved to Rouen, where he made another effort to be allowed to return to England :—"Seven years was a time prescribed and limited by God Himself for the expiation of some of His greatest judgments, and it is fully that time since I have, with all possible humility, sustained the insupportable weight of the King's displeasure. Since it will be in nobody's power long to prevent me from dying, the desire of a place to die in should not be thought a great presumption." To this pitiable appeal, Charles, with inexcusable brutality, sent no answer. Clarendon died at Rouen on 9th December, 1674, having been six years on the Continent, a few months after the date of this letter. He was interred beside his daughter, the Duchess of York, in the Royal Chapel of Henry VII. in Westminster Abbey.

For delicacy of observation and felicity of delineation of the characters of contemporaries, Clarendon has been considered without a rival. In his conduct we have much more to commend than to censure. His early career was without a blemish ; and it is only in considering how few would have done the same, that we can properly appreciate his merit in seeking to gain distinction by the liberal practice of his profession, instead of retiring to obscure indolence on the competence left him by his father. His efforts at the opening of the Long Parliament for the punishment of the judges and the correction of abuses, showed him to be a sincere friend of constitutional freedom. He went over to the King at a time when the disinterestedness of his motives was above suspicion; and the sound advice which he then gave, if it had been followed, would either have warded off a rupture or would have probably ensured success to the Royal cause. We shall nowhere find better illustrated than in the State Papers he then wrote the sound principles of representative government and limited monarchy. It is impossible to defend or to palliate the gross breach

of his solemn engagements to the Presbyterians or his extreme illiberality in the matter of Church discipline.[1]

The House of Commons on 9th May, 1668, sat till five o'clock next morning on the business between the Lords and them. The Commons resolved: "That whoever should assist in the execution of the judgment of the Lords against the East India Company should be held betrayers of the liberties of the people and of the privileges of the House." The Lords disapproved of this, and debated it till the King came in and sent for the Commons, when the Speaker made reference to the giving of a grant to the King of £300,000. The King made a short speech, which he read, thanking them for this money which he said he believed would be sufficient. He was sorry for the difference between the two Houses, but hoped the recess would put them into a way of accommodation, and he thereafter adjourned Parliament till August. The King's attention was called to the matter of the ejected clergy, and on 7th June, 1669, authority was given by the King to permit ejected ministers who had conducted themselves peaceably to return to their former charges if vacant and to preach and administer ordinance as before. If their old parishes were occupied, patrons were allowed to present them to other vacant churches. Only forty-three of the ejected ministers availed themselves of this indulgence, the great body of the people denouncing it as an acknowledgment of Royal supremacy and of the erastian powers claimed by the Privy Council.

A meeting of the Scottish Parliament was held in Edinburgh on 16th October following, John, Earl of Lauderdale, as commissioner, representing the King. This Parliament declared that the external government of the Church was an inherent right of the Crown, and that the King's instructions on Church matters should have the force of law. In order to ensure this maintenance of order, it was ordained that 22,000 men should be kept constantly armed and

[1] Campbell's Lives.

disciplined, and at any time be able to march into any part of the kingdom. During the recess of Parliament the Privy Council issued a severe proclamation against conventicles, and instructed the military to disperse the meetings and arrest the ministers and principal persons present; but conventicles went on in spite of this order. The more they were forbidden and punished, the more they multiplied and grew, and in the course of time the Communion was celebrated to great audiences in the open fields.

The English resident at Brussels, Sir William Temple, had already represented to his Court that it was desirable to enter into an engagement with Holland for the purpose of checking the progress of France. He was authorised to negotiate with Holland, and he thereafter proceeded to The Hague when he came to a common understanding with John de Witt, the Dutch Prime Minister. Sweden was induced to join England and Holland, and this became the triple alliance. This alliance was a serious menace to the French King, and its first result was to restore the peace of Europe; while it bound the leading Protestant states together in close union. Charles was not in sympathy with this alliance, entered into negotiations with the French King, offered to declare himself a Roman Catholic, dissolve the triple alliance, and join with France against Holland, if France would engage to lend him such military and pecuniary aid as would make him independent of Parliament. The French King with some reluctance agreed to this proposal, and, it is said—but the question is debatable—that for twenty years his machinations were effectual in minimising the reputation of England in the Councils of Europe. One of his devices was to send over to the English Court a handsome, licentious, and crafty Frenchwoman, to whom Charles would be a slave. This lady duly arrived, was loaded with wealth, and obtained a dominion over Charles which ended only with his life. She was created Duchess of Portsmouth.

In 1670 a treaty was signed at Dover. By it Charles bound himself to make public profession of the Roman Catholic religion, to join his arms to those of France so as to destroy the power of the United Provinces, and to employ the strength of England in supporting the House of Bourbon to the monarchy of Spain. For this treaty the King himself was chiefly responsible. He was the person who first suggested the most treasonable articles which it contained, and he carefully concealed some of these from the majority of his Cabinet. Financial difficulties again became serious, and a war with the Dutch could only be carried on at an enormous cost. The goldsmiths of London were also bankers, and were in the habit of advancing large sums of money to the Government. In return for these advances they received assignments of the revenue, and were repaid with interest when the taxes came in. Over a million and a quarter sterling had been in this way lent to the State. On a sudden it was announced that it was not convenient to pay the principal when it became due, and that the lenders must content themselves with interest. They were consequently unable to meet their own engagements, and the Exchange was in an uproar. Several great mercantile houses failed, and much distress prevailed. Penal laws against Roman Catholics were set aside, and the laws against Protestants and Nonconformists suspended. War was proclaimed against the United Provinces, and by sea the Dutch maintained the struggle with honour, but on land they were at first borne down with irresistible force. A French army passed the Rhine, and fortress after fortress opened its gates. Three of the seven Provinces of the Federation were occupied by the invaders. These hostilities were interrupted by the death of William of Orange the Stadtholder. He was the father of William of Orange, who became King of England and married the Princess Mary, daughter of James VII. The Commons then extorted the King's unwilling consent to the Test Act, which provided that all persons holding any office, civil

or military, should take the oath of supremacy, should subscribe a declaration against transubstantiation, and publicly receive the Sacrament conform to the Church of England. The King leaned towards our system of foreign politics, and his ministers to a system diametrically opposite.[1]

Among the acts of the Scottish Parliament passed in 1670 the following may be regarded as unique:—

It is statute and ordained that none of His Majesty's subjects presume to offer their children to be baptized by any other than our parish ministers, or such ministers as are authorised by Government. The father of any child which shall otherwise be baptized shall be liable to the following penalties:—Every heritor in a fourth part of his yearly rent; merchants in £100 Scots; tradesmen and tenants £50 Scots; small burgess traders and cottars, £20 Scots. For the encouragement of sheriffs, all fines to be retained by them except those of heritors, for which they are to account to the Treasury: Edinburgh, 17th August, 1670. Parliament further ordained: The public exercises of God's worship to be countenanced by all subjects of His Majesty, failing which they will, by the censure of law, be made sensible of their conduct, and by the authority of law made to obey. His Majesty, with the Estates of Parliament, commands and ordains all subjects of the reformed religion within the kingdom to attend the ordinary meetings appointed for worship in the parish churches; declaring that every such person who shall three Lord's days together absent themselves without reasonable excuse shall be liable in the following penalties, viz.:—Every person having land, in the eighth part of his yearly rent; every tenant in £6 Scots; every cottar or servant in 40s. Scots; those above the degree of a tenant who have personal estate £12 Scots; merchants £12 Scots; inferior merchants and tradesmen £6 Scots. The act to be administered by the sheriffs; all fines to

[1] Macaulay.

be retained by them except those of heritors, which they will account for to the Treasury. Persons absenting themselves for one year to appear before the Privy Council and sign a bond. The act to be in operation for three years.

In 1669 John Maitland, first Duke of Lauderdale, was appointed High Commissioner for the King in Scotland, and his administration extended to 1682, when he finally retired from office. During these thirteen years there was nothing but persecution going on in Scotland, persecution of the most brutal description against the Covenanters. Maitland professed to be a Presbyterian and a Covenanter, but he was a mere creature of the King, and this overshadowed everything else. He is responsible for the cruel executions that took place in Scotland during that period. Maitland was a big man with red hair hanging oddly about him; his tongue was too big for his mouth; and his whole manner is said to have been unfitted for a Court. He was loud and coarse both in mirth and anger, and was, perhaps, under the outward show of boisterous frankness, the most public man in that notable cabal (Clifford, Arlington, Buckingham, Ashley, Lauderdale). Maitland was a rude, blustering, passionate man, with what Buckingham called "a blundering understanding." He would talk with jocularity of the days when he was himself a traitor and rebel. He was then the chief instrument employed by the King in the work of forcing Episcopacy on his countrymen. Nor did he in that cause shrink from unsparing use of the sword, the halter and the boot. Maitland married a second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of the Earl of Dysart, who was widow of William Tolmash of the household of Charles I. This lady was a great personality, known for her beauty, her wit, and her accomplishments; extravagant in money, venal and rapacious, having a violent temper and restless ambition. She acquired a complete ascendancy over Maitland, and it is said that by her violence and

rapacity she degraded his character and government in public estimation.[1] To satisfy her ravenous greed for money the most important offices were put up for sale, and the Privy Council and Courts of Justice were filled with her husband's creatures.[2] Maitland, in addition to being Lord High Commissioner to the Scottish Parliament, was President of the Council, a lord of the Treasury, Governor of Edinburgh Castle, and an extraordinary Lord of Session. The revenues of the Crown were engrossed by Maitland and his satellites, and though augmented by an assessment of £72,000 were insufficient for his wants. His salary is said to have been £16,000 per annum, and the donations which he received amounted to £26,000. A most lucrative source of income was the penalties imposed upon those who were found guilty of attending conventicles. In 1682 he was accused of having been concerned in the surrender of Charles I. to the English Parliament, and was branded as a traitor. He thereupon fell into disgrace, was stripped of all his offices and pensions, and died the same year at Tunbridge Wells.

In 1674, under Lauderdale's administration, all heritors and masters were declared responsible for their tenants and servants; and by an act of council in 1677 they were required to sign a bond for the loyal behaviour of all persons residing on their lands. Many nobles and gentlemen refused to come under this obligation. This was followed in February, 1678, by a force of 9,000 troops being introduced into Ayrshire with instructions to take up free quarters wherever they might find it convenient.[3] This force was to compel obedience to this statute, or, in other words, "to exact the bond." The Government demanded security by "Law burrows" from those who refused to take the bond. The troops, however, failed in their mission, gained fines, and created great dissatisfaction. The career of Lauderdale came practically to a close with the battle of Bothwell Bridge in 1679.

[1] Taylor. [2] Hill Burton. Lauderdale Papers

Lord Shaftesbury was in 1672 appointed Lord Chancellor of England, and during his term of office the political atmosphere was fully charged. It was a time of much excitement, and the chief cause of that excitement was the introduction into Parliament of the Exclusion Bill, a bill to exclude the King's brother, James, Duke of York, from the succession because he was a Catholic. A section of the House of Commons, not an inconsiderable section, was heartily tired and worn-out with the behaviour of Charles, and they meant to protect themselves against such administration being continued by his successor to the crown. They believed that of the two brothers James was the most insufferable. The debates which took place in both Houses around this bill are beyond our limits.

In 1673 Charles resolved to dismiss Lord Shaftesbury, the Lord Chancellor and Keeper of the Great Seal. Sunday, 9th November, 1673, before chapel at Whitehall, was fixed for the transfer of the Great Seal to the Attorney-General, Sir Heneage Finch. As soon as Shaftesbury arrived, he retired with the King into the closet; the first salutation being over, he said to the King:—"Sir, I know you intend to give the Seal to the Attorney-General, but I am sure your Majesty never designed to dismiss me with contempt." The King: "Odds fish, my lord, I will not do it with any circumstance as may look like an affront." Shaftesbury: "Then, sir, I desire your Majesty will permit me to carry the Seals before you to chapel, and send for them afterwards to my house." To this the King agreed, and Shaftesbury entertained him with stories till the very minute he was to go to chapel, purposely to amuse the courtiers and his successor, who were on the rack for fear he should prevail on the King to change his mind. The King, and the Chancellor, still holding the purse, came out of the closet talking together and smiling, and walked together to chapel without an opportunity being given to the King to say a word to any of the bystanders. They were in

consternation, and some went to declare to the Duke of York that their scheme had broken down, while the Attorney-General, it is said, nearly fainted away. Shaftesbury carried the Seal to his house after chapel service. The King sent for it, and Shaftesbury gave it up with an air of cheerfulness, saying: "It is only laying down my gown and putting on my sword," and he at once buckled on his sword.[1]

In 1675 Charles made the startling announcement to Parliament that he was four millions in debt for the expenses of the State and his own necessities, besides vast sums due to goldsmiths and bankers. The question of granting him a supply was put to the vote, and negatived by a majority of four. Parliament by this time was dissatisfied with his foolish expenditure, and his facility of getting into debt, and this feeling may account for this adverse vote. It is recorded that upwards of £30,000 sterling was exacted from ten gentlemen in the county of Renfrew in three years to help the King's finances, and of these Sir George Maxwell, for three years absence from the parish church, attending at a conventicle during that time, and for three baptisms in his family, had incurred penalties amounting to nearly £9,000. In every department of the Government corruption was openly practiced; unprincipled men appointed as judges and elevated to the bench. It was enough if they were creatures of Lauderdale. Trade and commerce were in the same deplorable condition; Lauderdale granted monopolies on articles of commerce for a consideration, while the Provost of Edinburgh on one occasion, in consideration of a handsome present to Lauderdale, received a gift of the duties on ale and wine consumed in the city.[2]

Coming down to the year 1678, there is a good story told of the Methven family. Patrick Smythe, the proprietor, was in London. A large meeting of the Covenanters—a conventicle—composed of the citizens

[1] Campbell's Lives. [2] Taylor.

of Perth and people from all parts of the country, took place at Methven Wood. Mrs. Smythe, at the head of sixty followers, and with a cocked pistol in one hand and a sword in the other, appeared on the scene. The Covenanters asked her intentions, and she replied that "unless they left her husband's grounds instantly it would be a bloody day," to which the reply was, "That they were determined to preach whether she agreed or not." They, however, to save bloodshed, removed from the grounds to an adjoining field, where they held their meeting. Mrs. Smythe was a lady of great force of character, and this incident indicated her fearless and resolute nature. She was one of the family of Keith, the Earl Marischal, and possessed her full share of the determination and courage which belonged to that distinguished family.

The correspondence of this lady with her husband when this extraordinary incident occurred will convey a better idea of the circumstances to the mind of the reader. The first letter is dated October, 1678, and is as follows:—

To the Laird of Methven at London.

"My Precious Love,—In answer to your frequent desires to keep your command[1] free of disorderly people, as I wrote formerly to you, we were tormented with a field conventicle, which came betwixt Cultmalundie and Gask's ground. The Monday after their coming, I caused try who had been there of our concern. Only two women, the one a vassal's wife, who promised, to the Provost and me, not to go again; the other a widow in Needburn. She had nobody to bid for her. I called court, and, in the King's Majesty's name and yours, conjured them not to break the laws and statutes of this nation, under the pains of rigour of punishment. There is none on your ground gone since. Had Tippermallo, and Balgowan the tutor, and the rest,

[1] Smythe of Methven was Lord of that regality.

taken such course, we had been timelier free of them. I caused hold a court in our own hall; and the one wife had not money to pay the officer for summoning her. I caused her deliver her apron till she should pay. It has lately come to my hearing that some of the poor vassal men have been here. With the next ye shall have notice of my handling them to the length of justice. The Provost[1] told those who spoke with him in that affair, if every master kept as strict an eye over their ground as you allow me to do, there should be no conventicles in the land. They are an ignorant, wicked pack. The Lord God clear the nation of them. I am your faithful depute, to the power of

ANNE KEITH.

The next letter proceeds :—

METHVEN WOOD, 15*th October*, 1678.

"MY PRECIOUS LOVE,—A multitude of men and women, from east, west and south, came, the 13th day of this October (1678), to hold a field conventicle, two bows draught above our church. They had their tent set up before the sun, upon your ground. I, seeing them flocking to it, sent through your ground, and charged them to repair to your brother David, the bailie, and me, to the castle hill, where we had sixty armed. Your brother, with drawn sword and bent pistol, I with the light horseman's piece bent, on my left arm, and a drawn tug (long narrow sword) in my right hand, all our servants well-armed, marched forward, and kept the one-half of them fronting with the other, that were guarding their minister, and their tent, which is their standard.[2] That rear party that we yoked with, most of them were St. Johnston people. Many of them had no will to be known, but rode off, to see what we would do. They marched towards

[1] Provost of the Collegiate Church of Methven.

[2] It showed great generalship in the lady thus to divide the superior forces of the enemy.

Busbie. We marched betwixt them, and gained ground before they could gather in a body. They sent off a party of 100 men to see if we meant to hinder them to meet. We told them that if they would not go from the parish of Methven presently it would be a bloody day; for I protested, as also your brother, before God, that we would wear our lives upon them, before they should preach in our regality or parish. They said they would preach. We charged them either to fight or fly. They held a council among themselves what to do. At last, about two o'clock in the afternoon, they said they would go away, if we would let the squadron that was above the church, with the tent, march freely after them. We were content; knowing they were ten times as many as we were, and our advantage was, keeping the one-half a mile from the other, by marching in order betwixt them. They seeing we were desperate, marched over the River Pow. And so we went to the church, and heard a feared minister preach![1] They have sworn not to stand such an affront, but have resolved to come the next Lord's Day: and I, in the Lord's strength, intend to accost them with all who will come to assist us. I have caused your officer to warn a solemn court of vassals, tenants and all within our power, to meet on Thursday; when I intend, if God will, to be present; and there to order them in God, and our King's name, to convene well-armed in the kirkyard on Sabbath morning by eight o'clock; where your brother and I, with all our servant-men, and others we can muster, shall march to them; and, if the God of heaven will, they shall either fight or go out of the parish. But alas! there is no parish about us will do the like; which discourages our poor handful. Yet if all the heritors in the parish be loyal and stout, we will have 500 men and boys who may carry arms. I have written to your nephew, the Treasurer of Edinburgh, to send me two brass hagbuts if found, and that by the bearer. If they come next Saturday, I will have them with us.

[1] *i.e.*, the terrified minister of the parish.

My love, present my humble duty to my Lord Marquis of Montrose, and my lady. Likewise all our friends. And, my blessed love, comfort yourself in this—if the fanatics chance to kill me, it shall not be for nought. I was wounded for our gracious King; and now, in the strength of the Lord God of heaven, I'll hazard my person with the men I may command, before these rebels rest where ye have power. Sore I miss you, but now more than ever. God give the blessing is the prayer of your ANNE KEITH.

In January, 1679, the English Parliament, which had been in existence ever since the beginning of 1661, was dissolved, and writs were issued for a General Election. During some months the contention over the country was fierce and obstinate; horses were hired at great cost for the conveyance of voters; dissenting ministers, who had long hidden themselves in quiet nooks from persecution, now emerged from their retreats and rode from village to village for the purpose of rekindling the zeal of churchgoers. The tide ran strong against the Government. The courts of justice were disgraced by wilder passions and fouler corruptions than were to be found even on the hustings. The new Parliament met, and they were convinced that the only effectual way of securing the liberties and religion of the realm was to exclude the Duke of York (James VII.) from the throne. Shaftesbury was elected President of the Council. On 26th May, Charles, without previous notice, and a few weeks after he had publicly announced that he would take no step without the advice of his Council, went down to the House of Lords and prorogued Parliament, because he was not getting his own way. On that day the Habeas Corpus Act received the Royal assent. The prorogation was followed by a dissolution and another General Election.

In the matter of the succession, there is a letter from Charles II., dated Whitehall, 3rd March, 1679, in which he says:—

For the avoiding of any dispute which may happen in time to come concerning the succession to the crown, I do here declare in the presence of Almighty God that I never gave nor made any contract of marriage, nor was married to any woman whatsoever, but to my present wife, Queen Catherine, now living.

CHARLES R.

As illustrating the customs of the period, Shaftesbury, on 17th November, 1679, got up a curious pageant to commemorate the accession of Queen Elizabeth. First appeared a bellman, with a slow and solemn pace, exclaiming at intervals in a sepulchral tone: "Remember Godfrey."[1] Next came a representation of the body of the murdered magistrate; then followed nuns, monks, priests, Catholic bishops, Protestant bishops, six cardinals in red hats, and last of all the Pope, in a litter, attended by Arch-Chancellor the Devil. The procession having marched through the city at night, amidst the glare of several thousand flambeaux, the whole population turning out to witness it, halted at Temple Bar, when, at a given signal, the Pope and his attendants were precipitated into the flames, with a shout the echo of which, according to the account published by Shaftesbury's orders, reached, by continued reverberations, to Scotland and France and Rome itself, damping them all with dreadful astonishment.

Before the new Parliament was suffered to meet for the despatch of business a whole year elapsed—an eventful year; never before had political controversy been carried on with so much freedom. It was maintained that the constitution and religion of the State

[1] Sir Edmundsbury Godfrey was an eminent Justice of the Peace who had taken the depositions of Titus Oates against Colman, a Catholic. Godfrey disappeared, and his body was found in a field near London. It is supposed the Catholics assassinated him. The body was exhibited during several days to the gaze of great multitudes, and then committed to the grave "with strange and terrible ceremonies."

would never be secure under a Popish King, while others maintained that the right of James to wear the crown was derived from God, and could not be annulled. The citizens of London assembled by tens of thousands to burn the Pope's effigy, while the Government posted cavalry at Temple Bar and placed ordnance around Whitehall. All this was in connection with the Exclusion Bill.

Shaftesbury's determination to get the bill passed irritated Charles, and in 1680 he was removed from the office of President of the Council. He thereupon, in due form, submitted to a Grand Jury in the Court of King's Bench, "A presentment against his Royal Highness, James, Duke of York, as a Popish recusant," whereby it was alleged that James had forfeited two-thirds of his property and was liable in heavy penalties and disabilities. The jury, however, were discharged and James ordered to return to Edinburgh. Some time after, the Exclusion Bill was again introduced by Shaftesbury, passed through the House of Commons, and went to the Lords. The King, it is said, warmly espoused the cause of his brother and openly canvassed for votes in his favour and against the bill. The bill was thrown out of the Lords by sixty-three against thirty.

Shaftesbury, much irritated at this result, brought in a bill to dissolve the King's marriage with Catherine of Portugal, as it was known she could have no children, and thinking it might lead to a quarrel between the two brothers; but the King opposed the bill, and Shaftesbury withdrew it. In a few days Parliament was prorogued and writs issued for a new Parliament to assemble at Oxford, at the King's request. Shaftesbury was opposed to changing the place of meeting.

One of the remarkable events in the reign of Charles was what was called the "Jesuit Conspiracy" against his life, and the famous trials which took place at the Old Bailey and Westminster Hall in connection with

the matter. The dissolute and useless life that Charles was leading would doubtless encourage the plot. It was got up and championed by Titus Oates, the greatest ruffian who figures during Charles's reign, but his real character was not known till 1685, when Lord Jefferies, who tried him for perjury, inflicted an eminently deserved, but characteristic, sentence and punishment upon him, which he endured till the arrival of the Prince of Orange in 1688. The unfortunate feature about this conspiracy was the number of absolutely innocent persons cruelly executed, on the *ipse dixit* of this ruffian and his companions, the evidence, which was false, not being suspected at the time. The Jesuit Fathers, who supported the plot, acquired a fund of £10,000 to enable them to carry it out, but it failed from a variety of causes, and finally was disclosed by some of those in the secret, and collapsed.

The trials took place in 1678 and 1679, and were spread over some months. During these two years no less than twenty-seven State trials took place for treason and murder, involving fifty-two persons, most of whom were executed. These included that of the aged Lord Stafford, and other four peers, whose trial took place in Westminster Hall on 30th November, 1680. After a protracted trial, extending over several days, Stafford was condemned to death by a majority, and on 29th December following was executed on Tower Hill, protesting to the last his unqualified innocence, as well as his profound ignorance of the entire plot. Among the unfortunate men employed by Oates and other Jesuits to accomplish this diabolical deed, were Richard Strange, who, with four companions, were brought up for trial in 1678. Their indictment consisted of no less than eighty-one counts or charges, one of which stated that in the month of July, 1678 Richard Ashley came to London with instructions from Thomas Whitbread to the effect that the £10,000 procured by Father Lister, and then in the hands of the Jesuit Society in London, should be put into the hands

of Worsley, their banker; and that Ashley, with other Fathers, should treat and agree with Sir George Wakeman about the matter of poisoning the King; and that, if he would undertake it, he should have the £10,000. At the Old Bailey on 13th June, 1679 another lot of prisoners was brought up for the same crime: these were Whitbread and four others, all Jesuit priests. The case will be best understood from the opening speech of the King's counsel, who, in course of his remarks, said:—"On 24th April, 1678, these persons and several others assembled about matters of their own, and amongst the rest to murder the King. They came to a resolution that it should be done, and certain persons were appointed to do it: these were Grove and Pickering, who already have been executed for it; they were to kill the King in St. James's Park, but the flint of the pistol failed, and the King escaped. They then sent down four butchers to murder him at Windsor, who, being disappointed, they sent down others after that to murder him at Newmarket, and when that failed, they had recourse to that treacherous and unmanly way of poisoning him, and hired men to do so. They intended to raise an army of 25,000 to maintain their injustice when they had done it. They had recourse to foreign assistance if they were not supported at home. They have been disappointed in all these things. If these men be innocent, God forbid that they should suffer, but if guilty, surely they are not fit to live among men. And truly, if they be guilty, they do not only deserve to die, but to die a more cruel and miserable death than either the mercy of our Prince or the moderation of our laws hath provided for such offenders." They were indicted also for attempting to change their religion, established by law, and substitute that of the Romish Church; also to subvert the Government. These persons took the Sacrament so as to commit the crime with more secrecy. Evidence was led on both sides, and at the close an able summing up was delivered by Sir George Jefferies, the Recorder of

London (afterwards the notorious Jefferies). He said: "You, the prisoners at the bar, you have been severally arraigned, and are now severally convicted, of high treason, and that attended with all the circumstances that can be possible to aggravate so high a crime. You attempted the life of the best of kings, under whom you might have lived peaceably, had not your own malice and mischief prevented it. Nor were you satisfied with that, for you intended thereby to make way for the destruction of the greatest part of the kingdom by a public massacre, by cutting the throats of all Protestants, for that also appears to have been your design, to effect which, the nearest way and the best means you could think of were first to kill the King. And this was to be done for the introducing of another religion, as you called it, and so root out the best religion that is established among us by law. What a strange sort of religion is that whose doctrine seems to allow them to be the greatest saints in another world, who can be the most impudent sinners in this? Murder and the blackest of crimes here are the best means among you to get a man canonised as a saint hereafter. Is it not strange that men, professed in religion, who use all means to gain proselytes for heaven, should so pervert the Scripture, as some of you have done, and make that justify your impious designs of assassinating kings and murdering their subjects? What can be said of such people, the very foundation of whose religion is laid in blood? . . . From the pulpits you publicly preached that the oaths of allegiance and supremacy signify nothing. It is a strange religion that applies everything to those wicked and detestable purposes. . . . Let that vast eternity that you are ere long to enter into—you are now on the brink of it—I say, let that prevail with you, to consider that there is a God in heaven who will call you to account for every one of those private and treasonable consultations, of which we can never come to any certain knowledge." The prisoners were then sentenced to death.

Towards the close of Lauderdale's corrupt administration we have a notable act of revenge perpetrated by the people. This was no less than the assassination of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews. The event took place on 3rd May, 1679. It would appear that certain Covenanters, exasperated at Sharp's persecutions, specially the tactics of his agent, William Carmichael, said to have been Sheriff-Substitute of Fife, resolved that Carmichael should be removed. The band, headed by David Hackston and John Balfour of Burleigh, waylaid Carmichael near Cupar, but Carmichael had been forewarned and escaped. They were, however, immediately informed that the Archbishop was approaching on his return from Edinburgh to St. Andrews. They accordingly pursued and overtook Sharp on Magus Moor, three miles from St. Andrews, and having cut the traces and disarmed his attendants, ordered him out of the coach. On his refusal they fired into the carriage, his daughter, who was sitting beside him, piteously imploring mercy. One of the band, named Russell, opened the door and ordered him to come out. "I take God to witness," he said, "that it is not out of any hatred to your person, nor for any prejudice you have done or could have done me, that I intend now to take your life, but because you have been an avowed enemy of the Gospel and kingdom of Christ, and a murderer of His saints these eighteen or nineteen years, whose blood you have shed like water, that we are sent by God to exercise His vengeance on you this day." Sharp piteously entreated for his life, promised them an indemnity, offered them money, and even engaged to lay down his office if they would spare him. But he was in the hands of men who were proof against his supplications by a passion stronger than revenge. They upbraided him as an enemy of God and His people, and then despatched him with innumerable wounds. His daughter, in her frantic efforts to save him, was badly wounded. After rifling the carriage of the arms and papers it contained, the assassins rode off, unmolested,

leaving the lifeless body on the moor. They spent the night in a lonely house in the neighbourhood, and though it was only three miles from the scene they were left undisturbed. According to Russell, "they went to prayers first together, and then each one alone, blessing God, who had called them out and carried them so courageously through so great a work, and led them by His Spirit in every step that they took in that matter." Two of the leaders, Hackston and Balfour, escaped to the West, and on 29th May, at the anniversary of the Restoration, eighty horse entered Rutherglen, extinguished the bonfires kindled in honour of the day, publicly burned all the acts of the Scottish Parliament in favour of Episcopacy, and affixed to the Cross a protest against all the proceedings of the Government since the Restoration. The result of this bold and injudicious proceeding was that the Privy Council despatched to the West a body of troops under John Graham of Claverhouse, with power to put to death all who were found in arms.

At Loudoun Hill, a few miles north of Kilmarnock, the conventicle assembled on Sunday, 11th June. The religious service had begun, when it became known that Claverhouse was coming upon them. They had among them 200 fighting men, 40 of them mounted. They were peculiarly fortunate, too, in the presence of a few experienced officers, which included Hackston, who was present at the murder of Sharp. When the sentinels came in and advised the near approach of Claverhouse the conventicle was broken up, and the armed men took up their position on Drumclog farm, two miles from Loudoun Hill. Their position was protected by a cleft where lay the water of a ditch. Claverhouse attempted to get to close quarters with the Covenanters, but was driven back with considerable loss. Flanking parties were then detached to the right and left, but after crossing the ditch they were furiously assaulted and cut to pieces by Balfour and Cleland. Balfour and Nisbet of Hardhill then crossed the morass with cavalry, and

Cleland with infantry, and attacked the dragoons with such impetuosity that they were thrown into confusion and took to flight, leaving forty of their number dead on the field. Claverhouse had his horse shot under him, and narrowly escaped with his life. The Covenanters scored a complete victory. Claverhouse, in a despatch to the Earl of Linlithgow, said: "The Covenanters here pursued us so hotly that we had no time to rally. I saved the standards, but lost eight or ten men besides wounded. The dragoons lost many more." A stone monument or obelisk has been erected on the spot, with the following inscription:—"In commemoration of the victory obtained on this battlefield on Sabbath, 11th June, 1679, by our covenanted forefathers over Graham of Claverhouse and his dragoons." The defeat of Claverhouse was followed by the immediate despatch of the Duke of Monmouth with 10,000 troops to the aid of Claverhouse, and on 21st June they reached Bothwell. The Covenanters sent a deputation to Monmouth to say that all they wanted was the free exercise of their religion, a free general assembly, and a free Parliament. Monmouth refused to entertain any offer unless they first laid down their arms and submitted to the King, and he allowed them half an hour to decide. The Covenanters refused to lay down their arms and preferred to fight; and here took place the battle of "Bothwell Brig." The attack was led by Lord Livingstone at the head of the English infantry, who attempted to force the gates of the bridge which the Covenanters had barricaded. Hackston, who led the Covenanters, maintained his post heroically, and column after column of the enemy was driven back with great loss, while the troops under Balfour and Nisbet repulsed and threw into disorder a detachment of the Royalists, who attempted to ford the river. The defence was obstinate and protracted, but at last the ammunition of the defenders of the bridge began to fail. The English at last burst open the gates, overpowered Hackston and his resolute band of followers, and compelled them to

abandon the post they had so gallantly defended. The English crossed the bridge and formed in line of battle on the other bank of the river. The Covenanters were put to flight and defeated; 400 fell, and 1,200 laid down their arms and surrendered. Five of these were put to death on Magus Moor, and their bodies hung in chains on the spot where Sharp was killed. The rest were marched to Edinburgh, tied two and two, and confined in the Greyfriars Churchyard, closely watched by sentinels for five months, sleeping among the graves during the night with no covering to shelter them from the weather. A few made their escape; some died; some acknowledging the rising to be a rebellion were released; the remainder, numbering 257, were condemned to be banished and sold as slaves in Barbadoes. On the way out 200 of them were drowned.

Charles's conduct was gradually getting into disrepute, and public confidence throughout the realm was completely shaken. His unsteadiness and faithlessness were such that the French Government and the English Opposition, agreeing in nothing else, agreed in disbelieving his protestations, and were equally desirous to keep him poor and without an army.

The persecution of the Covenanters waxed hotter than ever. A portion of the extreme Presbyterians, goaded to madness by persecution, declared that Charles, by his perfidious violation of his coronation oath, and his persecution of the Covenanters, had forfeited all right to their allegiance. A party of these men, headed by Richard Cameron and Donald Cargill, wandered for some time up and down the country, holding meetings amongst the hills. On 22nd June, 1680, they affixed to the Mercat Cross of Sanquhar a declaration disowning Charles II. as their lawful sovereign, for his perjury, breach of the Covenant and tyranny, and denying the Duke of York's right to the succession. For this Cameron and his followers were hunted down by the Royalists, and finally traced to Aird's Moss, New Cumnock. Here an engagement took place, and

after a short but desperate encounter, the Covenanters were all either killed or taken prisoners. Cameron and his brother died fighting sword in hand, but the brave Hackston was severely wounded, and after desperate resistance, taken prisoner. Cameron's head and arms were cut off, and hung on the Netherbow of Edinburgh. Hackston, who was a cultivated gentleman, was treated with extreme brutality, to the everlasting disgrace of General Dalziel, who had reached the age of fourscore years, and might have shown some clemency to his brave but unfortunate prisoner. Dalziel refused to allow Hackston's wounds to be dressed, ordered him to be put in irons, and chained to the floor of his prison. In a day or two he was conveyed to Edinburgh, and by Dalziel's orders made his entry sitting on a horse with his face backward, accompanied by three of his friends on foot, bound in a goad of iron, with Richard Cameron's head carried on a halbert before him. Hackston was tried and condemned to be executed. His sentence was carried out with the utmost cruelty.

Of these barbarities Dalziel was the sole author and instigator. He had served abroad, and of all the adventurers who had, says the historian,[1] brought evil ways from foreign institutions and practices, he had brought home the largest stock of ferocity and rapacity.

At the Council table on one occasion he struck a man under examination on the teeth with the hilt of his sword, so as to draw blood: he had some provocation, he had been called "a Muscovy beast who roasted men." It did not make him more merciful that he was an honest and ardent fanatic for Royalty.

In 1681 the Duke of York, the King's brother, was High Commissioner in Scotland after Lauderdale. He had with him his wife and daughter, the Princess Anne. Edinburgh, during that visit, had some sunshine to relieve the gloomy history of the time. The Duke was affable, played at tennis, also at golf, on Leith Links, where he played frequently. He conducted himself in

[1] Hill Burton.

so obliging a manner that the nobility and gentry, who had been so long trodden upon by Lauderdale, found a sensible change, for he gained much on them all.[1]

On 28th July, James opened a Parliament in Edinburgh, the first that had met for nine years, from which he extorted two acts that gave dissatisfaction. By the one, no difference in religion was to alter or divert the lineal succession to the crown. By the other, he who signed the test committed himself to being at once a Presbyterian, an Episcopalian, and a Roman Catholic. Eighty of the Episcopal clergy resigned their benefices rather than sign an impossible obligation, and the Earl of Argyll was reserved for special procedure.

The primary object of Charles's life was the acquisition of money, and the spending of it recklessly. Notwithstanding the great sums which he had received from the Scottish Parliament he was constantly in debt.

In 1681 he was emboldened by a secret treaty with France, by which he was to receive a subsidy of two millions of livres for the current year, and half a million crowns for the two following years, in consideration for which he was to withdraw from Spain and abet the scheme of Louis for the conquest of the Netherlands. He then proceeded to Oxford, escorted by his Horse Guards. In that Parliament, which met on 26th March, 1681, and sat for a week, the King, referring to the Exclusion Bill, declared his willingness to assent to any expedient by which, in the event of a Catholic prince succeeding to the throne, the administration of Government might be retained in the hands of Protestants; but said he would never depart from his resolution of keeping the succession unbroken. Halifax immediately laid before the House the details of this plan, by which the Duke of York was to be banished 500 miles from the British dominions during his life. On the demise of the Crown he was to assume the title of King; but all the powers of

[1] Burnet.

government were to be transferred to a regent, to be exercised in the name of the absent sovereign, the regency to belong in the first instance to the Princess of Orange; after her to the Lady Anne; and if James should have a legitimate son educated a Protestant, the regency to continue during the minority of such a son, and no longer.[1] This scheme was not adopted.

The King once came to the House in a sedan chair, the crown being secretly carried between his feet; another chair followed with curtains drawn, supposed to contain the Lord-in-waiting. The lid being raised, it was found stuffed with the King's robes. But here a formidable difficulty arose, for they were found to be by mistake the robes of the Order of the Garter. So the chair was sent back again for the Parliamentary robes, and a member of the House of Lords, who wished to escape from the room to tell what he had seen, was locked up till the chair returned—all this was to conceal the intention of dissolving Parliament. The King having thrown the robes over him and taken his seat on the throne, Black Rod was sent for the Commons. Macaulay says that the meeting resembled rather that of a Polish diet than that of an English Parliament. The Whig members were escorted by great numbers of their armed and mounted tenants, who exchanged looks of despair with the Royal guards. The King consented to everything but the Exclusion Bill. The Commons were determined to accept nothing but this bill. The bill passed its final reading. The King then said: "My lords and gentlemen, all the world may see we are not like to have a good end when the divisions at the beginning are such. Therefore, my Lord Chancellor, do as I have commanded you." The Chancellor: "My lords and gentlemen, His Majesty has commanded me to say that it is his Royal will and pleasure that this Parliament be dissolved, and it is accordingly dissolved." Charles instantly stepped

[1] Campbell's Lives.

into his carriage and set off to Windsor. Shaftesbury, when he had recovered his breath from this sudden announcement, desired members to remain and transact business, but they gradually all dropped away, and he thereafter hurried off to London.

Shaftesbury had earned the King's displeasure by his determination to pass this bill, and an attempt was made to impeach him for high treason. The attempt, however, failed, but a rumour afterwards was spread that he was to be arrested. On this Shaftesbury escaped to the Continent, where he died on 21st January, 1683, in the sixty-second year of his age, a victim of Charles's persecution.

In 1683 it was proposed to make Sir Robert Wright a Judge. The Lord Keeper Guilford waited on the King to take his pleasure, and the incident gives us some insight into the character of Charles as an administrator. King: "My lord, what think you of Sergeant Wright? Why may not he be the man?" Guilford: "Because, Sir, I know him too well, and he is the most unfit person in England to be made a Judge." King: "Then it must not be." On this they parted. The next time Guilford was in the Royal presence, the King said: "Why may not Wright be a Judge, he is strongly recommended to me; but I would have a due respect paid to you, and I would not make him without your concurrence; is it impossible, my lord?" Guilford: "Sir, the making of a Judge is your Majesty's choice, and not my pleasure. I am bound to put the seal as I am commanded, whoever the person may be; it is for your Majesty to determine, and me, your servant, to obey; but I must do my duty by informing your Majesty of the truth respecting this man, whom I personally know to be a dunce and no lawyer; who is not worth a groat, having spent his estate on debauched living, who is without honesty, having been guilty of wilful perjury to gain the borrowing of a sum of money." King: "My lord I thank you." (*Exit* King.) Next day there came a warrant for the appointment of

"Our right trusty and right well beloved Sir Robert Wright" to be one of the Justices of our court before us.

Every Sunday morning when the King was in town, the Lord Keeper went with the other great officers to Whitehall to escort the King to chapel. That was usually a grand assembly of the Court, and the great men had opportunity to speak to the King as he gave them occasion. A Cabinet Council was held almost every Sunday evening. For the ease of attendance, the King would come from Windsor to hold a council at Hampton Court. There and at Whitehall the Lord Keeper had a lodging in the palace. If at any time he wished to see the King privately, he went directly to the Royal bedchamber and took possession of it.

An important event occurred on 18th June, 1683. This was the decision of the great question of the hour, the disfranchisement of the city of London because of abuses that were going on. On this date, the Lord Mayor and Council presented a petition to the King at Windsor. The Lord Keeper, for the King, replied that the King had considered the petition, and commanded that no Lord Mayor, sheriff or other officer be appointed without his consent; that if the King disapproved of the sheriffs elected, he might appoint others by his own authority, that the King would appoint all magistrates in the city, instead of their being elected as hitherto. The citizens refused to comply with these terms. London remained disfranchised and governed by the agents of the Crown until the arrival of the Prince of Orange. The rule of Charles was becoming intolerable, and in 1683 took place the famous Rye House Plot. There was general feeling of insecurity to liberty and property, and as many as thirty-six noblemen and gentlemen had arranged to dispose of their estates in England and go out to Carolina, United States; but the scheme fell through on account of this plot. The plot was meant to organise a general rebellion against the rule of Charles II., to take the form of simultaneous

risings in various parts of the kingdom. The more desperate of the Whig party formed a separate plot for the assassination of the King and his brother, on their return from Newmarket. Robert Ferguson, chaplain to the Earl of Shaftesbury, championed the scheme. He consecrated a blunderbuss for the purpose, and is said to have had a sermon ready for delivery on the consummation of the deed, which was to be at Rye House Farm. This deliberately-organised scheme owed its defeat to the circumstance that the house which the King occupied at Newmarket took fire accidentally, and Charles was obliged to leave eight days before his time. Both plots were discovered. Lord William Russell, Algernon Sydney, Sir Thomas Armstrong, and several others were arrested and beheaded for their connection with them. Several people fled the country. John Hampden was fined £40,000, while a reward of £500 was set on Ferguson's head.

The case of Robert Baillie of Jerviswoode, one of the unfortunate victims of this period, calls for special notice. Baillie was one of the thirty-six who had all but arranged to go to America, being unable to endure the reign of terror that was going on under Charles. He was accused of being concerned in the Rye House Plot, but there was no proof. He was, however, arrested, and for some months shut up in a loathsome prison, which had a serious effect on his health. At his trial he was in the last stages of a mortal disease brought on by his imprisonment. On 23rd December, 1684, he was arraigned before the Court of Justiciary. He was so weak as to be obliged to appear at the bar in his night-dress, and take frequent applications of cordials to prevent collapse. He solemnly denied having been accessory to the Rye House Plot, or to any conspiracy against the King's life; and complained that his friends had been forced to bring forward false representations against him. Baillie, it is recorded, was as distinguished for his loyalty as for his learning and abilities, his

amiable disposition, and his fidelity to his religious principles. Sir George Mackenzie, the advocate, affirmed in the strongest terms that Baillie had been accessory to the plot to assassinate the King and his brother. Baillie got up, and fixing his eyes on Mackenzie said: "My lord, I think it very strange that you should charge me with such abominable things. You may remember that when you came to me you told me that such things were laid to my charge, but that you did not believe them. How, then, my lord, did you come to lay such a stain upon me with so much violence? Are you now convinced in your conscience that I am more guilty than before?" Mackenzie manifested great confusion, and said: "Jerviswoode, I own what you say, but my thoughts then were as a private man; what I say here is by special directions of the Privy Council, and the Clerk knows my orders."[1] "Well," said Baillie, "if your lordship has one conscience for yourself, and another for the Council, I pray God to forgive you; my lords, I trouble you no further." The jury was empanelled at midnight, and sat till nine a.m., when a verdict of guilty was returned, and Baillie was sentenced to be executed that afternoon at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, his head to be fixed on the Netherbow, and his limbs on the gaols of Glasgow, Lanark, Jedburgh and Ayr. The reason alleged for such haste was the fear of his judges that a natural death would disappoint the Government (Baillie suffering from a mortal disease), which called imperatively at that moment for a public example to terrify its opponents. Baillie only said: "My lords, the time is short, the sentence sharp, but I thank my God who hath made me as fit to die as you are to live." His sister-in-law, daughter of Johnstone of Warriston, attended him devotedly to the last.

This was the last event of moment in the life of

[1] Sir George Mackenzie was one of the Seaforth family, and unconnected with Sir George Mackenzie, afterwards Earl of Cromarty, who lived at the same period.

Charles. His palace at Whitehall had seldom a gayer or more scandalous appearance than on the evening of Sunday, 1st February, 1685. The great gallery was filled with revellers and gamblers. The King sat there chatting and toying with three women whose charms were the boast, and whose vices were the disgrace, of the nation—the Duchess of Cleveland, the Duchess of Portsmouth, the Duchess of Mazarin. In respect of the latter, Charles had sought her hand when in exile but in vain. Her face was beautiful, her understanding quick, her manners graceful, her rank exalted, her possessions immense; but her ungovernable temper had turned these blessings into curses. Her house was the favourite resort of men of wit and pleasure. On the evening in question at Whitehall a party of twenty courtiers were seated at cards round a large table on which gold was heaped in mountains.[1] Scarcely had the King risen from bed next morning when it was noticed that his utterance was indistinct and his thoughts wandering. His face grew black, and uttering a cry he fell into the arms of Lord Aylesbury. A physician who was present opened a vein and the blood flowed freely. He was then laid on a bed, and the Duchess of Portsmouth attended him with all the devotion of a wife. On the alarm being given the Queen and the Duchess of York hastened to the room, when the Duchess of Portsmouth had to retire to her own apartments. The Duke of York scarcely left his brother's bedside. The Primate and four bishops remained at Whitehall all day, and took it by turns to sit up at night in the King's room. The King recovered his senses and was generally improving, when, on Thursday, 5th February, he took a relapse. Sancroft, the Primate, who was in the room, said to him: "Sir, you are about to appear before a Judge who is no respecter of persons." The King answered not a word. The bishop of Bath and Wells then stepped forward to try his persuasive powers. His solemn and pathetic

[1] Evelyn's Diary.

exhortation awed and melted the bystanders into tears, but the King was unmoved. He declined to take the eucharist from the bishops. A table of bread and wine was brought to his bedside, but in vain. He had never been a sincere member of the Church of England; when his health was good and his spirits high he was a scoffer. In his serious moments he was a Catholic. The French ambassador, Barillon, who had come to Whitehall to inquire for the King, paid Lady Portsmouth a visit and found her in an agony of sorrow. "I have," she said to Barillon, "a thing of great moment to tell you; if it were known, my head would be in danger; the King is really and truly a Catholic; but he will die without being reconciled to the Church. His bedchamber is full of Protestant clergymen; I cannot enter it without giving scandal. The Duke is thinking only of himself. Speak to him; remind him that there is a soul at stake. He is master now, he can clear the room. Go this instant, or it will be too late." Barillon hastened to the bedchamber and delivered the message. James's conscience smote him; he started as if aroused from a sleep, and declared that nothing should prevent him from discharging the sacred duty which had been so long delayed. He commanded the crowd to stand aloof, and said to the King: "Shall I bring a priest?" "Do, brother, for God's sake do, and lose no time; but no, you will get into trouble." "If it costs me my life," said James, "I will fetch a priest." Father Huddlestone was brought in, when everyone withdrew. "Sir," said James to the King, "this good man once saved your life, he now comes to save your soul." Huddlestone knelt by the bed, listened to the confession, pronounced the absolution, and administered extreme unction. He then asked the King if he wished to receive the Lord's Supper: "Surely," said the King, "if I am not unworthy." The "Host" was brought in, and this rite ended, the priest held up a crucifix before the King, charged him to fix his last thoughts on the sufferings of the Redeemer, and withdrew. The King

seemed to be much relieved. Five of his natural children were brought in and he blessed them all; these were the Dukes of Grafton, Southampton, Northumberland, St. Albans, Richmond. At noon on Friday, 6th February, the King passed away without a struggle.[1]

Charles was without ambition. He detested business, and would sooner have abdicated his crown than direct the administration. He wished merely to be a King who could draw without limit on the Treasury for the gratification of his private tastes; who could both hire wealth and honour, persons capable of assisting him to kill the time; and although even when the State was brought by maladministration to the brink of ruin, could still exclude unwelcome truth from the purlieus of his own seraglio, and refuse to hear what might disturb his luxurious repose. In the religious disputes which divided his Protestant subjects he was not at all interested; his opinion oscillated in a contented suspense between infidelity and Popery. The love of God, the love of country, the love of family and friends, were convenient synonyms for the love of self. Honour and shame were scarcely more to him than light and darkness to the blind. It is creditable to him that he never became a misanthrope. He was a slave without being a dupe; worthless men and women, to the very bottom of whose hearts he saw, and whom he knew to be destitute of affection for him and undeserving of his confidence, could easily wheedle out of him titles, places, State secrets and pardons; the consequence was that his bounty generally went, not to those who deserved it best, nor even to those whom he liked best, but to the most shameless and importunate suitor who could obtain an audience.[2]

As a man he could not be much lamented by a people who had never seen his face since he had become their King. As a king he had been swayed by two motives—the maintenance of his prerogative, and the supply of his purse.[3]

[1] Macaulay. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Hume Brown.

When the reign of Charles was concluded it was a relief to the nation. His profligate conduct contaminated the Court and all with whom he came in contact. His immorality was the source of all his evil deeds, and that immorality was evidently acquired in France, where he kept Court for so many years. He got many hints to give up such a way of living, but in vain. He had an ungovernable temper, which kept his ministers in fear and submission to him. He not only administered the Crown with conspicuous incapacity, but his whole life is destitute of a single action that could be called noble. His indolence and idleness made him fond of frivolous living, and a frivolous way of spending his time. And what is to be said of his behaviour towards the Presbyterians and Covenanters? of his treatment of the Lord Chancellor, the best of all his friends, and his treacherous conduct to the Marquis of Argyll? Under such a King the nation became disaffected, disloyal, rebellious; the freedom of Parliament, the liberty of the subject, the eternal laws of justice observed between man and man, all were cast to the winds and disregarded by this discreditable member of the House of Stuart. Under such a sovereign we need not be surprised if the nation languished and gradually drifted into a state of anarchy.

We cannot, in this twentieth century, realise what the nation suffered under such a ruler, on account of the brief and unconnected narratives of his reign which are recorded. From what is recorded, however, we can so far conjecture what the condition of the people may have been. The English and Scottish Parliaments were in a condition which might be termed "aggressive." They were under the domination of a ruler who was hopelessly indifferent to the welfare of the nation so long as he could get money to meet his reckless obligations. The people of that age were to be pitied, for no sooner had this monarch been put in his grave than another rose up, who was to be a much greater persecutor of the people and a greater tyrant than his predecessor.

Charles was married in 1662 to Catherine of Braganza, daughter of John IV., King of Portugal, but by her had no issue. He left natural issue as follows :—

By Lucy Walters, daughter of Richard Walters : James, born in Holland 1649. In 1662 he came over to England, and in 1663 was created Duke of Monmouth ; in 1668 captain of the King's Guards and general of the forces. He became a distinguished soldier, and commanded the English auxiliaries on the Continent during the Dutch war. He unfortunately quarrelled with his father, and remained on the Continent till his father's death. On the accession of his uncle, James VII., he invaded England and proclaimed himself King. He was defeated, put in the Tower of London, where in 1685 he was beheaded. He was married to Anne Scott, daughter and heiress of Francis, Earl of Buccleuch, and they were by Parliament created Duke and Duchess of Buccleuch, he assuming the surname of Scott. His family were, James, Earl of Dalkeith ; this son was married and left issue, Walter, Earl of Dalkeith, and Lord Henry Scott, Earl of Deloraine ; Mary, said to have been twice married.

By the Duchess of Cleveland, Lady Castlemaine : Charles, Earl of Southampton and Duke of Cleveland ; Henry, Duke of Grafton ; George, Duke of Northumberland ; Anne, married to the Earl of Sussex ; Charlotte, married to the Earl of Lichfield ; Barbara Fitzroy, who became a nun, and died in a French nunnery.

By Louise, Duchess of Portsmouth : Charles, surnamed Lennox, created Earl of March and Duke of Richmond, afterwards Baron Methven, Earl of Darnley, and Duke of Lennox.

By Elizabeth, Viscountess Shannon : Charlotte Henrietta, surnamed Fitzroy, married to the Earl of Suffolk, and secondly to the Earl of Yarmouth.

By Nell Gwynne, daughter of Francis Gwynne, one of the clerks of the Privy Council : Charles, Duke of St. Albans ; James Beauclerc, who died in France.

By Catherine, daughter of Thomas Pegg : Charles, surnamed Fitzcharles, created Earl of Plymouth.

By Mrs. Mary Davies : Mary, surnamed Tudor, married Frances, Earl of Derwentwater, and had issue ; married secondly Henry Graham.

CHAPTER VIII.

Birth and boyhood of James—His marriage as Duke of York—Death of Duchess, and second marriage—James and Argyll and Coronation Oath—Argyll arrested and condemned—Escapes from prison and attainted—James visits Scotland—Creates Gordon, Chancellor—Proclamation and Coronation—Meeting of Scottish Parliament—James's speech to the Privy Council—The Monmouth invasion—Chiefs of the Campbells imprisoned—Argyll's proclamation and Fiery Cross—Argyll captured, tried and beheaded—Twenty Campbells slaughtered by Atholl—Persecution of the Covenanters—Johnston of Westerhall, Claverhouse and Widow—Covenanters massacred—The Dunnottar outrage—Monmouth proclaimed King—Battle of Sedgemoor—Defeat and execution of Monmouth—Cemetery of the Tower—Remarkable career of Jefferies—His extraordinary anecdotes—His famous sentence of Titus Oates—Trial of Richard Baxter and Lady Alice Lisle—Punishment of Monmouth prisoners—Jefferies, Lord Chancellor—He surrenders the Great Seal—His attempt to escape—His capture at Wapping—His imprisonment—His Will and his death—Dismissal of Queensberry and Sir George Mackenzie—Trial of the bishop of London—the Declaration of Indulgence—James and the Oxford Professors.

REIGN OF JAMES VII.

A.D. 1685—1688.

JAMES VII. of Scotland and II. of England was the second son of Charles I. and Henrietta Maria, and was born at St. James's Palace on 16th October, 1633. He was immediately proclaimed Duke of York, and on 24th October was christened by the Archbishop of Canterbury. His childhood was spent at St. James's with his young brother and sister, the Duke of Gloucester and Princess Elizabeth, till 1641. There was nothing specially eventful in the life of James until 1652, when he obtained permission to serve under

KING JAMES VII.

(From a Portrait by Sir Godfrey Kneller.

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Turenne in the French army, and under that distinguished General he served till 1655, when he was complimented by Turenne for his gallant services. In consequence of a treaty between the French King and Cromwell, he left France in 1657, joined the Spanish army, and it is said distinguished himself at Dunkirk in 1658.[1] After this date James appears to have fallen in love with Anne Hyde, daughter of the Lord Chancellor. This young lady was a maid of honour to the Princess of Orange, the King's sister, and had accompanied her mistress to Paris on a visit to the King's mother, Henrietta Maria. She is described as possessed of wit and agreeable manners, but without personal charms. She gave promise of becoming a mother. Naturally pure in mind, and the child of a virtuous and illustrious father, her position was rendered painful in the extreme. Before the birth of the child she prevailed on the Duke to have the marriage celebrated; and the ceremony took place privately at Worcester House, the residence of the Chancellor, on 3rd September, 1660 — Dr. Crowther, chaplain to the Duke, officiating. The marriage was disapproved by the Duke's mother and eldest sister. Henrietta Maria hastened over to England to prevent "so foul a disgrace to the Royal family," and declared that "whenever that woman should be brought into Whitehall by one door, she herself would leave the palace by another, and never enter it again"; and the Princess of Orange declared "that she would never yield precedence to a girl who had stood as a servant behind her chair." Anne Hyde at this date was twenty-one years of age. The restoration of harmony in the Royal family was facilitated by the sudden deaths of the Princess and her brother, the Duke of Gloucester.

At the restoration, the Duke of York was made Lord High Admiral of England, after which his conduct at the Court of Charles II. is said not to have been creditable to him, as he was constantly engaged in some

[1] Thurloe State Papers, vol. ii.

discreditable intrigue. He had as many mistresses as his brother the King, and it is said entertained the same libertine opinions respecting female virtue.

In 1665, after his return from Lowestoft, he found that the pestilence called the plague had extended its ravages from the metropolis to the nursery of his children at Twickenham. He at once hurried off his wife and children to the purer air of the North, and fixed his residence at York, where they lived for some time in happiness and comfort. It is said that the only fault of the Duchess was her inordinate love of eating, and strange to say, the same propensity developed itself in both her daughters, the Princesses Mary and Anne. Compton, Bishop of London, asked James on one occasion for permission to confirm the Princess Mary at the age of fourteen. James replied: "The reason I have not instructed my daughters in my own religion is because they would have been taken from me; therefore as I cannot communicate with them myself I am against their receiving it."[1]

The Duchess of York (Anne Hyde) died in March, 1671, and James was not slow to marry again. He required no pressure on that subject. It is said by a modern writer[2] that there were eleven suitable names suggested for the honour. Further, that Lord Peterborough, the Groom of the Stole, was given a roving commission to interview the ladies, and that the lot fell on Mary Beatrix of Modena. But that young lady, then in her fifteenth year, being without worldly leanings, had already commenced a religious novitiate, and was deaf to the arguments by which the English courtier tried to persuade her to exchange her eventual cloister life for a Royal career. The case would have been hopeless had not Pope Clement X. come to the rescue by informing Mary that, the Duke of York's desire to contract an alliance with her having reached the Pontifical ears, he thanked the Father of Mercies for preparing "in the kingdom of England an ample

[1] Memoirs of James II. [2] Martin Haile.

MARY OF MODENA.

Queen of Great Britain. Wife of James VII.

(By Rigaud.)
(From W. Strickland's Collection).
By permission of George Bell & Sons.)

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harvest of joy." Her marriage would restore the orthodox faith, and he therefore exhorted her to lay aside her desire to embrace religious discipline, "reflecting that in the present occasion it opposes itself to the progress of religion."

On 21st November, 1673, James married his second wife, Mary Beatrix, daughter of the Duke of Modena, and the adopted child of the King of France. She became a heroic companion to James in all his troubles. In 1718, in the sixtieth year of her age and thirtieth of her exile, she died at St. Germains, surrounded, it is said, to her last breath by no less than fifty persons. She had an annual allowance from the King of France of 600,000 livres, and the greater portion of this was devoted to the support of destitute Jacobites, who at that period crowded St. Germains. It is recorded of her that, combined with great sensibility, she had much wit and a natural haughtiness of temper; her mien was noble, majestic and imposing, but it was sweet and modest.[1]

In 1681 James intimated that he had adopted the Catholic faith, which gave so great dissatisfaction that a vigorous effort was made to exclude him from the succession. So keen was the feeling that he went off to the Continent to be out of the way. After a short residence there he returned, and was made a Privy Councillor, but being a Catholic, he declined to take the oath. Three months after this he assumed, it is said, the direction of the Government under his brother, who was gradually, by a dissipated life, becoming King only in name. The Estates of Scotland appointed him Commissioner to His Majesty. One writer[2] says that it soon became evident that the sycophants, of whom this assembly was composed, were ready to sacrifice at the mandate of the King all the rights and privileges for which their fathers had struggled; they declared that no difference of religion, no statute or law could interrupt the order of succession, and that it was high treason to alter or limit the rights of the heir to the crown. It

[1] Memoirs du Duc de St. Simon. [2] Dr. James Taylor.

is curious to notice that in less than eight years the same men declared that the heir to the crown, whose rights they thus recognised, had forfeited the crown, and sent his family as fugitives to wander abroad. In 1682 the Privy Council proposed that as a mark of respect all princes of the blood should be exempted from taking the oath. This exemption, which was intended to save James from undertaking to maintain the Protestant religion, was opposed by Argyll, who said that the proposed exemption would be an encouragement to the Royal family to abandon the National Church. His words, as might be expected, offended James. As a result of this foolish resolution Argyll was prepared to resign his office of Privy Councillor rather than subscribe the test. He afterwards, however, at the request of James signed it with a reservation, and he did so "as far as it was consistent with the Protestant religion." For taking up this attitude Argyll was by order of James arrested and tried before a packed jury in Edinburgh for high treason, found guilty and condemned, but at the request of James the execution of the sentence was suspended. In the interval Argyll ingeniously dressed himself as a page, escaped out of prison and fled to the Continent. Sentence of attainder was pronounced against him, his estates forfeited, and a price set on his head. This was an illustration of what Scotland had to expect from a tyrannical ruler. Argyll was probably the best Scotsman of the period; and for adhering to his own religion and declining to recognise the Catholics he was condemned to death. This incident, however, was completely shadowed by the wholesale atrocities which followed.

Argyll's prosecution created much dissatisfaction in England and Scotland. Seven of the Scottish bishops, however, approved the conduct of James as contributing to the tranquillity of the kingdom. These men were branded as sycophants, pandering to gain the favour of a bigoted prince. This year (1682) James paid a final visit to Scotland in order to settle the

Government and take his family to London. The vessel in which he took his passage, was wrecked near Yarmouth, but he and the Earls of Middleton and Perth escaped. On his arrival in Scotland he appointed Gordon of Haddo, Chancellor, with the title of Earl of Aberdeen. This year Lauderdale broke down in both mind and body, and died at Tunbridge Wells. Rothes, Glencairn and Annandale died immediately after. It is a curious fact that these oppressors of the Covenanters on their deathbeds sent for Presbyterian ministers, which led the King to say "he believed that Scotsmen, be they what they would in their lifetime, were all Presbyterians at their death."

James, on the death of his brother, Charles II. (February, 1685), an event he had been anxiously looking forward to, was on 10th February proclaimed King of Scotland at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh. His cruel nature, already well illustrated, rendered him very unpopular, while his obstinate temper, his revengeful disposition, and his Romish principles made him obnoxious to the people. He declined to take the coronation oath, being a Catholic, and his obsequious council acquiesced in his refusal, a proceeding which was wholly indefensible.

The opening year of his reign was marked by greater severities against every form of Nonconformity than any period of the reign of Charles II. The laws against Covenanters were enforced with relentless severity. The Circuit Courts in the South and West renewed their iniquitous proceedings with increased vigour. There were those who failed to give a general satisfaction as to their consistent loyalty, and there were those who refused to abjure what were called their apologetical "Declaration." The former were punished by having one ear cut off and then shipped to the American plantations; the latter were placed at the mercy of the military officer into whose hands they fell—these officers being under the command of Claverhouse.

James became impatient for power, and in London

the Privy Council issued orders for the proclamation. The guards were under arms; the heralds appeared in their uniform, and all proceeded without any obstruction. Casks of wine were broken open on the streets, and all who passed were invited to drink the health of the King; but though an occasional shout was raised, the people were not in a joyous mood. Tears were seen in many eyes, and it was remarked that there was scarcely a housemaid in London who had not contrived to procure some fragment of black crape in honour of Charles.[1] On 6th February, 1685, James was officially proclaimed with the usual ceremonies at Whitehall, Temple Bar, and the Royal Exchange, London. He at once called a meeting of the Privy Council, at which he presided and made the following speech:—

Before I enter on any business, I have thought fit to declare that since it has pleased God I should be successor to a brother who had so tender an affection for me, and to so good and masterful a King, I shall endeavour to follow his example: and particularly in the love he had for his subjects. I have been represented to the world as a man of arbitrary principles: that is not the only wrong that has been done me; but my behaviour shall destroy that slander. I shall use my endeavours to preserve the Government both in Church and State, as by law established. I know the Church of England is well affected to monarchy, and that the members of it have on several occasions approved themselves loyal subjects. I shall take particular care to support and defend it. I am also convinced that the laws of this kingdom are sufficient to make a king as great as I desire to be; and as I intend to maintain the prerogatives of the Crown, so will I never go about to take from others what is their due. I have often ventured my life in defence of the nation, and am still

[1] Macaulay.

ready to expose it for the maintenance of its just rights.

This was James's politic speech on his accession to the throne. Notwithstanding, he, on the following Sunday, attended Mass in the Queen's Chapel, St. James's, surrounded by all the insignia of Royalty and the paraphernalia of the Catholic Church. This was a direct negative to his obsequious speech. It was on this occasion that the Duke of Norfolk, whose office it was to carry the sword of State, stopped short when he came to the door of the chapel. James was surprised. "My lord," said he, "your father would have gone further." "Your Majesty's father," replied the Duke, "would not have gone so far." Shortly after the proclamation came Passion week, when the King determined to hear Mass with the same pomp with which his predecessors had been surrounded when they went to the churches of the Established religion. The rites of the Church of Rome were once more, after an interval of 127 years, performed at Westminster with Royal splendour; the guards were drawn out and the Knights of the Garter wore their collars. The Duke of Somerset carried the sword of State, while a long train of great lords accompanied the King to his seat.

One of James's first acts after his proclamation was to fit up the Chapel of Holyrood for Catholic service. The citizens of Edinburgh saw the palace frequented by strangers in such ecclesiastical vestments as had not been visible in Scotland for more than a century.[1] The Jesuits erected a printing press, and a few books were printed there during its short life; a cargo of images, declarations and vestments arrived for the equipment of the chapel. James proposed to restore the Order of the Thistle; the stalls for the Knights being part of the new equipment, and he was as thoroughly a vassal of Rome as Philip II. or Mary Tudor had been. His management of the funeral of his

[1] Hill Burton.

brother, Charles II., called forth much censure. It would indeed hardly have been accounted worthy of a noble and opulent subject. The Tories blamed the King's parsimony; the Whigs sneered at his want of natural affection; and the Covenanters proclaimed that the curse denounced of old against wicked princes had been signally fulfilled, and that the departed tyrant had been buried with the burial of an ass.[1]

The coronation of James took place in Westminster Abbey on 23rd April, 1685, the very day on which his first Parliament was held at Edinburgh. The Abbey was splendidly decorated; the presence of the Queen and peeresses gave to the proceedings a charm which had been wanting at the inauguration of the late King. The ancient custom was, that before a coronation the sovereign, with all his heralds, judges, counsellors and great dignitaries, should ride in state from the Tower to Westminster. But James ordered an estimate to be made of the cost of such a procession, and found that it would amount to about half as much as he proposed to expend on covering his wife with jewels. More than £50,000 was thereafter laid out on the dress of the Queen, and the procession from the Tower omitted. The sermon was preached by the bishop of Ely, from 1 Chronicles xxix. 28. The lords who carried the swords bore them erect, near the King on his right side, the great Chamberlain standing at his left hand. On each side of the Queen stood the two bishops who supported her, the Lord Chamberlain on the right, the Vice-Chamberlain on the left. The Archbishop of Canterbury sat in a purple velvet chair, on the north side of the altar; near the pulpit stood the Lord Mayor of London, and near the altar the Dean and prebendaries of Westminster. After sermon the King uncovered his head, and the Archbishop put the usual questions and administered the oath. The King and Queen then knelt while the choir sang, *Veni, Creator, Spiritus*, prior to anointing. The four Knights of the

[1] *London Gazette*, 14th February, 1685.

Garter held a pallet of cloth of gold over the King during the anointing. After the anthem, the Archbishop, coming from the altar with the crown, put it on the King's head, at which the trumpets sounded, the drums beat, and the people cried, "God save the King!" The Queen rose from her chair, the King's ceremony being over, and went towards the altar, attended by the Duchess of Norfolk and four lady-assistants, who bore her train, and the ladies of the bedchamber. The Queen knelt at the steps of the altar, while the Archbishop repeated a short prayer, after which, kneeling down, the Archbishop poured the oil on her head in the form of a cross, saying: "In the name of the Father, Son, and the Holy Ghost, let the anointing of this oil increase thine honour." He then set the crown upon her head, saying: "Receive the crown of glory, honour, and joy; God hath this day set a crown of pure gold upon thy head."

The Queen being anointed and crowned, the choir sang the anthem from the 45th Psalm, "At his right hand shall stand the Queen all-glorious within"; she was then conducted to her own throne on the left of the King, after which they knelt while the benediction was pronounced. The Royal procession then returned from St. Peter's to Westminster Hall. The Queen was received under her canopy by sixteen barons of the Cinque Ports, who carried the rich dais of cloth of gold, under which she walked. The King, having the four swords and sceptre with the dove borne before him, with a crown upon his head, in his hand the sceptre and the orb, was supported out of the chapel, and received under the canopy also by sixteen barons. The proceedings were followed by a banquet.

A modern writer[1] says James would have shown a more judicious munificence, and a more judicious parsimony, if he had traversed London from east to west with the accustomed pomp, and had ordered the robes of his wife to be less thickly set with jewels. The

[1] Macaulay.

ceremony of presenting the King with a richly-bound copy of the Bible, and exhorting him to prize it above all earthly treasures, was omitted. There was no creation of Knights of the Bath nor any coronation honours. A coronation medal was struck, on which his bust was represented after the manner of the Roman emperors, with a laurel wreath entwining his head, and the words, "Jacobus II., D. G., Aug. Sco. Fr. et Hib. R. 4"; on the reverse was a branch of laurel upon a cushion, with an armed hand from the clouds holding out a crown with the inscription: "*A militari ad Regiam Exurg.*"

The Quakers of England, after the coronation of James, sent him the following address:—"These are to testify to thee our sorrow for our friend Charles, whom we hope thou will follow in everything that is good. We hear that thou are not of the religion of the land any more than we, and therefore may reasonably expect that thou wilt give us the same liberty that thou takest thyself. We hope that in this and all things else thou wilt promote the good of thy people, which will oblige us to pray that thy reign over us may be long and prosperous."

The Scottish Parliament met on 23rd April, 1685, Lord Queensberry representing the King. As every Presbyterian was excluded by the test, it was only open to Episcopalians. Parliament was informed by letter that the King was determined to maintain his prerogative, and as nothing had been left unattempted by certain fanatical murderers and assassins to disturb the public peace, he trusted Parliament would inflict punishment on them for their crimes. The servility of this Parliament was shown in their drawing up a declaration, expressing their abhorrence of everything derogatory to the King's authority; the whole nation between sixteen and sixty to be placed at their disposal, and an additional grant of £18,000 per annum was settled on the King for life, while an indemnity was granted to all officers of the Crown, civil and military,

for their illegal proceedings during the late reign. The demand of the King for new and more stringent penal laws against the Presbyterians was agreed to. It was ordained that whoever should endeavour to expound the Scriptures in a house where five persons in addition to the family were present, or should attend a field meeting, should be punished with death and confiscation of goods.[1] This Parliament evidently was dominated by the Catholic proclivities of James.

To administer or receive the Covenant was declared treason; and the estates of Baillie of Jerviswoode and several others were confiscated for disregarding the King's authority. At another meeting of the Estates a bill favourable to the Catholics was prepared and accepted by the Lords of the Articles. It protested against Popery in the abstract, but provided that those who were in the Romish Communion should be under the protection of His Majesty's Government, and should not for the exercise of their religion in private—public worship being expressly excluded — be under the danger of sanguinary and other punishments contained in any law or acts of Parliament.[2] Parliament was unfavourable to this measure, and the King is said to have met this defeat with indifference.

On 11th May, 1685, three poor labouring men were stopped by an officer in the neighbourhood of Glasgow, and were asked whether they would pray for King James. They refused to do so, unless "he was one of the elect." They were seized by a file of musketeers, and within one hour after their arrest their blood was lapped up by the dogs.[3]

We come now to that notable event in English history, the Monmouth Invasion, the attempt of Monmouth to succeed his father, Charles II. There were at this period a number of exiles in Holland, of whom the Duke of Monmouth (natural son of Charles II.) and the Earl of Argyll, who had escaped from

[1] Acts of the Scot. Par. [2] Wodrow, vol. iv., p. 366.
[3] Wodrow, vol. iii., p. 9.

prison, were the chief. The accession of James gave them, as they thought, an opportunity of invading England and Scotland. Accordingly, it was resolved that Argyll should make a descent on Scotland, and Monmouth should land on the West Coast of England. On the 2nd May, 1685, a small fleet of three ships left Amsterdam and duly arrived in Scotland, carrying war material for Argyll's benefit. The King, hearing of this movement, ordered out the militia. The strongholds in Argyllshire were dismantled or garrisoned; the chiefs of the Campbells were summoned to Edinburgh and thrown into prison, and several ships of war were ordered to cruise off Bute. Argyll issued two proclamations recapitulating the personal injuries he had received from the Government; the sufferings inflicted on the country by a Popish tyrant; and calling on the people to take up arms for the vindication of the Covenant and the overthrow of Popery and prelacy. The Fiery Cross was also sent through the district to summon the Campbells to the standard of their chief, but only 1,800 men obeyed the call. Argyll, we are informed, was only to hold the nominal command, as he was to be one of a war committee, which included Cochrane of Ochiltree and Sir Patrick Hume of Polwarth, which would determine where the expedition would land, appoint officers, superintend the levying of troops, and give out provisions and ammunition. Monmouth was to command in England; he was eager for the enterprise. All that was required of him was that he would not assume the regal title till his claims had been submitted to the judgment of Parliament. It was determined that two Englishmen, Ayloffe and Rumbold, should accompany Argyll to Scotland, and Fletcher should with Monmouth go to England. The promoters of the enterprise, the anti-Jacobites, were able to raise a sum of money sufficient for the two expeditions. The English Government issued a proclamation directing that Scotland should be put into a state of defence, and all the clans hostile to Argyll to be

set in motion. John Murray, first Marquis of Atholl, was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Argyllshire, on behalf of James, and occupied Inverary Castle, while some war vessels were sent to cruise on the West Coast. The state of public feeling in Scotland was not what Argyll expected it to be. The Highlanders, whom he now summoned to extirpate prelacy, he had a few years before summoned to defend it. The people of the Lowlands positively refused to advance into the Highlands.

Argyll proposed to send his troops to Inverary, but Atholl with his supporters were there and occupied the town. Argyll then despatched some troops by land, while he prepared to sail up Loch Fyne to Inverary to distract the Royalists, but the King's cruisers were on his track, and he was forced to take shelter under the castle of Eilean Dearg, in the Kyles of Bute. He then marched along the south coast of the loch. The contingent which he had sent on before him seized the Castle of Ardkinlas. Atholl made an attempt to recover it but failed. Argyll was tracked on all sides by the enemy and he made for the low country, fording the Leven above Dumbarton, and being pursued by some of Atholl's troops. Argyll's object was to make for Glasgow. Cochrane and Hume both made their escape, but Rumbold, an Englishman and companion of Argyll, was captured. Argyll, whose life was in danger, dressed as a peasant, pretended to be the guide of Major Fullarton, and in crossing the Cart at Inchinnan they were confronted by a party of militia who suspected them. They seized Argyll, but he broke loose and sprang into the water. He stood at bay a short time before five assailants. He had no arms but his pocket pistols, and they were so wet that they would not go off. He was struck to the ground with a broad-sword and secured. Argyll has been condemned for not having refused to conduct this enterprise without the power of an independent general. He wanted neither courage nor activity but authority. He was fettered by

that committee which, more than he, was responsible for the failure and for its consequences. Argyll was dragged through Edinburgh in triumph, and was compelled to walk on foot, bareheaded, from Holyrood to the castle Before him marched the hangman bearing the gibbet. When he reached the castle his legs were put in irons, and he was informed he had only a few days to live. Argyll was no ordinary man; his gentle and majestic patience, his courage over fortitude, though severely tried, never forsook him. This was Archibald, ninth Earl of Argyll. James had sent positive orders to Edinburgh that nothing should be omitted which could wring out of him information against all who had been concerned in the treason. With torments and death in immediate prospect Argyll thought less of himself than his clansmen. He wrote from his cell: "I was busy treating for them and in some hopes, but this evening orders came that I must die, and I am to be put to the torture if I answer not all questions on oath, yet I hope God will support me." The torture was not inflicted. On the scaffold one of the Episcopal clergy who attended him called out: "My lord dies a Protestant." "Yes," said Argyll, stepping forward, "and not only a Protestant, but with a heart-hatred of Popery, prelacy, and of all superstition." His companions, Ayloffe and Rumbold, were also executed. A story was current that the King said: "You had better be frank with me, Mr. Ayloffe; you know that it is in my power to pardon you," to which Ayloffe replied: "It may be in your power, but it is not in your nature." These unwarrantable executions, which took place on 30th June, 1685, and the unsuccessful attempt of Argyll to vindicate the liberties of his country, were followed by the most disgraceful severities towards his defenceless retainers. Upwards of twenty of the leading members of his clan were put to death by Atholl (John Murray, first Marquis of Atholl), and many of his followers were hanged without a trial. Argyll's son Charles, while ill of a fever, fell into the hands of Atholl, and but for the

interference of the Privy Council at the intercession of some ladies, Atholl would have hanged him before his father's gate at Inverary. Atholl laid waste the whole district with fire and sword, burned the houses, destroyed nets and fishing-boats, and broke in pieces the mill-stones, in order to deprive the poor inhabitants of their means of living. More than 300 of both sexes were sent abroad as slaves, many of them deprived of their ears by the hangman, or branded on the cheek with a hot iron.[1]

The Scottish Parliament on 8th May, 1685, have recorded the following :—

Our sovereign Lord, considering the obstinacy of the fanatical party who, notwithstanding all the laws formerly made against them, still keep their house and field conventicles, which are the nurseries and rendezvous of rebellion; therefore His Majesty, with consent of Parliament, ordains that all such persons who shall hereafter preach at such house or field conventicles, also those who shall be present as hearers, shall be punished by death and confiscation of their goods.[2]

The Lords of the Privy Council and others commissioned by His Majesty have fined husbands for their wives withdrawing from ordinances. Parliament ordains this to be legal, and it is to be observed in all time coming. Parliament ratifies all decreets and sentences passed against husbands for such fines, reserving power to the Privy Council to mitigate the fines of husbands known to be loyal.[3]

The English Parliament met on 22nd May thereafter, when the King delivered his speech from the throne. He declared he would maintain the established Government in Church and State. It was then the custom that after the King had given his reasons for assembling Parliament, the minister who held the Great Seal should at more length explain to the House the

[1] Burnet. [2] Acts of the Scot. Par. [3] *Ibid.*

state of public affairs. This being done, the Commons voted the King for life the whole revenue enjoyed by his brother. In the matter of religion, the Commons passed the resolution that they relied with entire confidence on His Majesty's generous promises to protect that religion which was dearer to them than life itself.[1] The King informed the House that his brother Charles had left some debts. On the proposal of Dudley North, a tax for eight years was imposed on sugar and tobacco, to meet the national expenditure. This raised the income of the Crown, it is said, to about two millions per annum, a huge sum, when we think of the scarcity of money at that period.

James enraged and alarmed his Parliament by constantly telling them that they had their privileges merely during his pleasure; and that they had no more business to inquire what he might lawfully do than what the Deity might lawfully do. Yet he sometimes quailed before them, abandoned minister after minister to their vengeance, and suffered them to tease him into acts directly opposed to his inclination. By his fondness for worthless minions, and by the sanction which he gave to their tyranny and rapacity, he kept discontent constantly alive. His cowardice, his childishness, his pedantry, his ungainly person and manners, his provincial accent, made him an object of derision. Even in his virtues and accomplishments there was something eminently unkingly. Throughout his reign all the venerable associations by which the throne had been fenced were gradually losing their strength. It was no light thing that, on the very eve of his decisive struggle between our Kings and their Parliaments, Royalty should be exhibited to the world stammering, slobbering, shedding unmanly tears, trembling at a drawn sword, and talking in the style alternately of a buffoon and a pedagogue.[2]

The accession of James unfortunately brought no

[1] Commons' Journals, May, 1685. [2] Macaulay.

relief to the Covenanters. It is recorded[1] that multitudes were put to death often without a trial, on mere suspicion, or on their refusal to take the test or betray the hiding-places of their friends. Murders in the fields continued without intermission. On one occasion six persons, while at prayer in Minnigaff, in Galloway, were surprised by a troop of horse under Captain Douglas, and instantly shot. On another occasion six men were seized in the parish of Urr by Bruce of Earlshall, and all six murdered. At this date took place the event known as the "Wigtown Martyrs." Three women were arrested in Wigtown and tried for nonconformity, viz., Mrs. M'Lauchlan, a widow, and two daughters of Gilbert Wilson, a farmer. Wilson and his wife had become Episcopalians, but the daughters refused, and they were condemned to death. The youngest Wilson was ransomed by her father for £100, but the other two women were bound to stakes fixed in the sands within high-water mark, that they might endure a lingering death. They perished before the eyes of the notorious Grierson of Lagg, a noted persecutor, and an immense concourse of spectators. There was next the Westerhall case, where Johnston, the proprietor, a convert from Presbyterianism, discovered that an old woman, a Presbyterian, was living on his estate and harbouring a Covenanter. It would appear that the tyrant pulled down the house of the poor woman, drove out her and her children to wander in the fields, dragged her son Andrew, a youth, before Claverhouse, that sentence of death might be passed upon him. Claverhouse, strange to say, expressed pity for the lad, but Johnston insisted on the sentence being carried out. Claverhouse yielded, saying; "The blood of this poor man be upon you; I am free of it." The captain of a Highland Company who was present was asked, but peremptorily refused, to execute the sentence. Claverhouse then requested three of his

[1] Taylor.

Dragoons to do it, which they did, the youth holding up his Bible and charging them to answer for what they were about to do, at the Great Day when they should be judged by what was written in that Book.

Of the method in which the Indulgences and the King's design in them were received by the sterner among the fanatics, the following specimen may suffice:—There were more butchered and slaughtered in the fields without either law or trial or sentence than in all the former tyrant's reign; they were murdered without time given to deliberate upon death, or space to conclude their prayers; but either in the instant when they were praying shooting them to death, or surprising them in their caves, and murdering them there without any grant of prayer at all; yea, many of them were murdered, or cut off without pity, when they were found at their labour in the field, or travelling upon the road; and such as were prisoners were condemned for refusing to take the oath of abjuration or owning the authority, and surprised with their execution, not knowing for certain the time when it should be. Queensberry had the impudence to express his desire of it; when some went to solicit him for a reprieve in favour of some of them, he said they should not have time to prepare for heaven—hell was too good for them.[1]

The Privy Council at Edinburgh, composed of the creatures of James, ordered all the Covenanters who were in prison to be sent to Dunnottar Castle in safe custody. The unfortunate creatures were compelled to perform the journey on foot with their hands tied behind their backs. When they reached Dunnottar they were, to the number of 167 persons, including several women and children, thrust into a subterranean vault full of mire, and with only one small window opening to the sea. Their guards treated them with great inhumanity, and allowed them neither bedding nor provisions excepting what they bought; they had

[1] Hill Burton.

even to pay for water. In a few days forty of them were removed into a smaller vault, into which light entered only by a chink in the wall, and they were compelled to stretch themselves on a damp floor in order to obtain fresh air, which entered close to the ground. Many of them died in consequence of this and the tortures to which they were subjected; twenty-five of them fortunately made their escape down the perpendicular rock on which the castle stands, but fifteen were cruelly betrayed by the neighbouring peasantry and retaken. These suffered the most cruel tortures at the hands of the soldiers, and were bound to the floor of their dungeons with fiery matches burning for some hours between their fingers. Several of them died under this diabolical treatment, and the fingers of others were reduced to ashes. In consequence of strong representations which were made to the Privy Council regarding these atrocities, orders were given that provisions and other necessaries should be allowed to the prisoners on moderate terms, and that they should not be crowded together so closely in their dungeon. About the end of July they were brought to Leith, and those who persisted in refusing the test were sent to the plantations.[1] This brutal outrage was perpetrated by the Scottish Parliament by the authority of the King, and subsequently formed one of the reasons for his dethronement. In downright brutality it equals anything perpetrated by Jefferies, and affords us an illustration of the brutal nature of James VII.

Monmouth's cause having been lost in Scotland, he was by a faction proclaimed King of England. On the day following that on which he had assumed the regal title he marched from Taunton to Bridgewater. The Mayor and aldermen of Bridgewater came in their robes to welcome him, walked before him to the Cross, and there proclaimed him King. His troops were cordially received and entertained by the people;

[1] Wodrow, vol. ii.

they numbered 6,000. His courage, much inferior to that of Argyll, rose and fell with his animal spirits. It was sustained on the field of battle by the excitement of action, and by the hope of victory. He was a graceful and accomplished man, and a general favourite. His proclamation was, as might be expected, a great surprise to James, and the movement culminated at last in the battle of Sedgemoor. The Royal troops came upon them there, when Monmouth, after severe fighting, was defeated, and his troops fled. After the engagement he was captured in a ditch, where he had concealed himself. His dress was that of a shepherd ; he trembled greatly, and was unable to speak. Even those who had often seen him were at first in doubt whether this was really the brilliant and graceful Monmouth. All was lost ; nothing remained but that he should prepare for death. A few days before his execution Monmouth wrote the following pathetic letter to James:—

RINGWOOD, 8*th July*, 1685.

Your Majesty may think it is the misfortune I now lie under that makes me make this application to you ; but I assure you it is the remorse I now have in me of the wrong I have done you in several things, and now in taking up arms against you. For my taking up arms, it never was in my thoughts since the King died. The Prince and Princess of Orange will be witness for me of the assurance I gave them that I would never stir against you ; but my misfortune was such as to meet with some horrid people, who made me believe things of your Majesty, and gave me so many false arguments, that I was led to believe that it was a shame and a sin before God not to do it. But, sir, I will not trouble you at present with many things I could say for myself that I am sure would move your compassion. The chief end of this letter is to beg of you that I may have the happiness to speak to your Majesty, for I have that to say to you that I hope may

give you a long and happy reign. I am sure, sir, that when you hear me you will be convinced of the zeal I have for your preservation, and how heartily I repent of what I have done. I can say no more to your Majesty now, seeing this letter must be seen by those who keep me; therefore, sir, I shall make an end in begging of you to believe so well of me that I would rather die a thousand deaths than excuse anything that I have done, if I really did not think myself the most in the wrong that ever any man was, and had not from the bottom of my heart an abhorrence of those who put me upon it, and for the action itself. I hope, sir, God Almighty will strike your heart with mercy and compassion for me, as He has done mine with the abhorrence of what I have done. I hope I may live to show you how zealous I shall ever be for your service; and could I say but one word in this letter, you would be convinced of it; but it is of that consequence that I dare not do it. Therefore, sir, I beg of you once more to let me speak to you, for then you will be convinced how much I shall ever be your Majesty's most humble and dutiful, etc.,

MONMOUTH.

On the day of his execution, 16th July, 1685, Tower Hill was a mass of spectators. On the scaffold he said to the executioner: "Here are six guineas for you. Do not hack me as you did Lord Russell; I have heard that you struck him three or four times; my servant will give you some more gold if you do the work well." It is said the hangman was disconcerted by these words, and became nervous. The first blow only inflicted a slight wound; Monmouth struggled, rose from the block, and looked reproachfully at the executioner. The head sank down once more; the stroke was repeated again and again. Yells of horror and rage arose from the crowd; the hangman flung down the axe with a curse, exclaiming: "I can't do it, my heart fails me." "Take up the axe,

sir," cried the Sheriff; "Fling him over the rails," cried the mob. At last the axe was taken up, and two more blows completed the brutal work. The hangman was in danger of being torn to pieces by the enraged mob, and was conveyed away under a strong guard in a very expeditious manner. So perished this young nobleman, whose career, if short, was brilliant. He was by no means destitute of military tactics, but he allowed his strong, impulsive nature to take precedence of his wisdom and better judgment. His remains were interred under the Communion Table of St. Peter's Chapel in the Tower of London.

There is no sadder spot on earth, says the historian, than that little cemetery. Death is there associated, not as in Westminster Abbey and St. Paul's, with genius and virtue, with public veneration and imperishable renown, but with whatever is darkest in human nature and in human destiny, with the savage triumph of implacable enemies, with all the miseries of fallen greatness and of blighted fame. Thither had been carried, through successive ages, by the rude hands of gaolers, without one mourner following, the bleeding relics of men who had been the captains of armies, the leaders of parties, the oracles of senates, and the ornaments of courts. Thither was borne before the window where Lady Jane Grey was praying, the mangled remains of Guilford Dudley. Edward Seymour, Duke of Somerset and Protector of the realm, reposes there by the brother whom he murdered. There has mouldered away the head of John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and Cardinal of St. Vitalie, a man worthy to have lived in a better age, and to have died in a better cause. There are laid John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, Lord High Admiral, and Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, Lord High Treasurer. Not far off sleeps two chiefs of the great House of Howard, Thomas, fourth Duke of Norfolk, and Philip, eleventh Earl of Arundel; Margaret of Salisbury, last of the name of Plantagenet; and the two

Queens who perished by the jealous rage of Henry VIII.

Upwards of 300 of Monmouth's followers shared the same cruel fate, while 850 who were taken prisoners were transported. According to Burnet, the King was not only acquainted with all the barbarities, but had an account of the executions sent him daily. These reports he is said to have had a pleasure in reading to the foreign ambassadors at his levees. When Jefferies was dying, a prisoner in the Tower of London—a death which saved him from execution—he was attended by Dr. Scott, a minister of the time, who desired him to repent of the cruelties of which he had been guilty in the days of his insolence and power; to which Jefferies replied: "Whatever I did then I did by express orders, and I have this further to say for myself, that I was not half bloody enough for him who sent me thither." This invasion being subdued by a wholesale massacre of innocent people, the King began to throw off the mask and to enforce openly Popery and arbitrary power. He established the oppressive and vexatious Court of High Commission — a court for death sentences — without consulting Parliament, and was responsible for various other arbitrary acts, which left no doubt in the minds of the people that he meant to destroy their civil and religious liberties. Instructions were given to the clergy not to preach against Popery; and printers and booksellers were not to publish any book without a licence. Shops were to be searched, and any books found referring to the errors of Rome to be burned.[1]

Following the invasion and death of Monmouth, Jefferies undertook, by the King's order, his "Western Circuit," which resulted in a great massacre of people supposed to have been concerned, directly or indirectly, with this rebellion. Jefferies, in 1663, was admitted a member of the Inner Temple. For the benefit of the reader it will be desirable to give a brief retrospect of his remarkable career:—He was particularly famous for

[1] Taylor.

his talents and cross-examination, an experience which he gained in defending criminals at the Old Bailey. On one occasion, beginning to cross-examine a witness in a leather doublet, who had made out a complete case against his client, he exclaimed: "You fellow, in the leathern doublet, pray what have you for swearing?" The man looked steadily at him and said: "Truly, sir, if you have no more for lying than I have for swearing, you might wear a leathern doublet as well as I." Jefferies, it is said, was often twitted with this when he became a great man. In early life he was dissipated, and often when a trial was over he would recklessly get drunk. In 1671 he was made a Common Serjeant of the city of London; in 1678 he was appointed Recorder of London, but resigned that office in 1681 because a petition had been presented to the King for his removal; in 1683 he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of England. In 1684 he presided at the trial of Sir Thomas Armstrong, who was outlawed when he was beyond the seas, and being sent from Holland within the year sought, according to his legal rights in law, to reverse the outlawry. When brought up at the King's Bench, Armstrong was attended by his daughter who, when Jefferies had illegally overruled the plea and pronounced sentence of death under the outlawry, exclaimed: "My lord, I hope you will not murder my father." Jefferies: "Who is this woman? Marischal, take her into custody; why, how now; because your relative is attainted for high treason must you take upon you to tax the Courts of Justice for murder when we grant execution according to law. Take her away." Daughter: "God Almighty's judgments light upon you." Jefferies: "God Almighty's judgments will light upon those who are guilty of high treason." Daughter: "Amen; I pray God." Jefferies: "So say I; I thank God I am clamour-proof." The daughter was carried off into custody. Armstrong: "I ought to have the benefit of the law, and I demand no more." Jefferies: "That you shall have by the grace of God;

see that execution be done on Friday next according to law; you shall have the full benefit of the law." Armstrong was beheaded and quartered by Jefferies' order.

In 1685, Titus Oates, the ruffian, was charged before Jefferies for perjury. He got up the Jesuit conspiracy to assassinate the King, and by swearing falsely caused several respectable and innocent persons to be cruelly executed. He was found guilty on two indictments and received the following sentence:—To pay a fine of 1,000 merks for each indictment; to be stripped of all canonical habits; to stand upon the pillory and in the pillory before Westminster Hall gate on Monday for an hour between ten and twelve, with a paper over his head (which he must first walk with round about all the Courts in Westminster Hall) declaring his crime; on Tuesday to stand upon and in the pillory at the Royal Exchange for an hour between twelve and two with the same inscription; on Wednesday to be whipped from Aldgate to Newgate; on Friday to be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn, by the hands of the common hangman; on 24th April, every year while he lives, to stand upon and in the pillory at Tyburn opposite the gallows, for an hour between ten and twelve; on 9th August every year while he lives, to stand upon and in the pillory at Westminster Hall gate; on 10th August every year during life to stand in the pillory at Charing Cross for an hour between ten and twelve; on 11th August the like, over against the Temple Gate; on 2nd September to stand upon and in the pillory for one hour between twelve and two at the Royal Exchange, and to be committed a close prisoner for life.

The Earl of Huntingdon bitterly reproached Oates with having deceived the Houses of Parliament and drawn on them the guilt of shedding innocent blood. He was the author of a plot for a rising of the Catholics, a general massacre of the Protestants, the burning of the city of London, the assassination of the King, and the invasion of Ireland by the French.

After his first flogging, when the hangman had laid on him very severely, said to have been by special instructions, he had borne as much as the human frame could stand without dissolution. James was asked to remit the second flogging, and he replied: "He shall go through with it if he has breath in his body."[1] The Queen was asked to intercede but refused. The second day the stripes numbered 1,700. Horrible as were his sufferings, which he survived, they did not equal his crime.

Next came the trial of Richard Baxter, who was prosecuted because in a book on Church government he had reflected on the Church of Rome in words which might possibly be applied to bishops of the Church of England: though no such reference was intended. He pleaded not guilty, and begged on account of his health that the trial might be postponed. Jefferies: "Not a minute more to save his life. We have had to do with other sorts of persons, but now we have a saint to deal with, and I know how to deal with saints as well as sinners. Yonder stands Oates in the pillory, and he says he suffers for the truth; and so says Baxter, but if Baxter did but stand on the outside of the pillory with him, I would say two of the greatest rogues and rascals in the kingdom stood there together." Baxter wished to speak, but Jefferies exclaimed: "Richard, Richard, thou art an old fellow, and an old knave; thou hast written books enough to load a cart; everyone is as full of sedition, I might say treason, as an egg is full of meat. Hadst thou been whipped out of thy writing trade forty years ago it had been happy; thou pretendest to be a preacher of the Gospel, and thou hast one foot in the grave; it is time for thee to begin to think what account thou intendest to give; but leave thee to thyself, and I see thou wilt go on as thou has begun; but by the grace of God I'll look after thee. Gentlemen of the jury, he is now modest enough; but time was when no man was so

[1] Macaulay.

ready at: 'Bind your kings in chains and your nobles in fetters of iron, crying, To your tents, O Israel!' Gentlemen, for God's sake, do not let us be gulled twice in an age." Baxter got off with a fine of £500. Mr. Wollop, an eminent counsel, defended Baxter. Jefferies said to him: "Mr. Wollop, I observe you are in all these dirty causes, and were it not for you gentlemen of the long robe, who should have more wit and honesty than to support and hold up these factious knaves by the chin, we should not be at the pass we are at." Wollop: "My lord, I humbly conceive that . . ." Jefferies: "You humbly conceive, and I humbly conceive! Swear him! swear him!"

In 1685 Jefferies was raised to the peerage as Baron Jefferies of Wen, and he occupied his time in trying to compel the removal of the Lord Keeper from the Woolsack in order to make way for himself. He then went on the Western Circuit to sit as judge on the political rebels, the fruits of Monmouth's invasion. One of the first to be tried was Lady Alice Lisle, widow of Major Lisle, the charge against her being for lodging in her house one Hicks, who had been in arms with Monmouth. Thrice did the jury refuse to bring a verdict of guilty, and thrice did Jefferies send them back to reconsider. The jury staying out a while, Jefferies showed a great deal of impatience, and said he wondered that in so plain a case they would go from the bar; he would have sent for them, with an intimation that, if they did not come quickly, he would adjourn and let them lie by it all night. The foreman, addressing the court, said; "My lord, we have one thing to beg of your lordship—some directions before we can give our verdict; we have some doubts whether there be sufficient evidence that she knew Hicks to be in the army." Jefferies; "There is as full proof as can be, but you are judges of the proof; for my part, I thought there was no difficulty in it." Foreman: "My lord, we are in some doubt of it." Jefferies: "I cannot help your doubts; was there not proved a report of the

battle and the army at supper-time?" Foreman: "But, my lord, we are not satisfied that she had notice that Hicks was in the army." Jefferies: "I cannot tell what would satisfy you; did she not inquire of Dunn whether Hicks had been in the army? And when he told her he did not know, she did not say she would refuse him if he had been there, but ordered him to come by night, by which it is evident she suspected it. But if there were no such proof, the circumstances and management of the thing are as full as proof can be; I wonder what it is you doubt of?" Lady Lisle: "My lord, I hope—" Jefferies: "You must not speak now." The jury laid their heads together for a quarter of an hour and then gave verdict of guilty. Jefferies then passed sentence on the lady: "That you be conveyed from hence to the place from whence you came, and from thence you are to be drawn in a hurdle to the place of execution, where your body is to be burned alive, till you be dead; and the Lord have mercy on your soul." The King refused the most earnest supplications to save her life, saying he had promised Jefferies not to pardon her; but he changed the punishment of burning into that of beheading, which she actually underwent. His next court was at Salisbury. Bills of indictment for high treason were found by the hundred, often without evidence. He began on a Saturday morning with a batch of thirty; of these only one was acquitted for want of evidence, and the same evening he signed a warrant to hang thirteen on Monday morning, and the rest, sixteen, the following day. An impressive defence was made by one of them named Chardetock, who was charged with supplying Monmouth's soldiers with money, whereas they had actually robbed him of a considerable sum. The prisoner objected to the compelling of a witness. Jefferies said; "Villain, rebel; methinks I see thee already with a halter about thy neck"; and he was specially ordered to be hanged first. On Monday his ire was kindled, and he had no mercy, and 292 unfortunate creatures, because they were con-

cerned in Monmouth's invasion, received judgment to die, and of these 74 actually suffered; some being sent to be executed in every town and almost every village for many miles round. While the whole county (Dorset) was covered with gibbeted quarters of human beings, the towns resounded with the cries of men, women and children who were cruelly whipped for sedition, on the ground that by words or looks they had favoured the insurrection. A notable case was that of John Tutchin, a political writer; he had said: "Hampshire is up in arms for the Duke of Monmouth." On his conviction he was sentenced by Jefferies to be whipped through every market town in the county for seven years. An officer of court observed that that meant once a fortnight for seven years. Luckily for Tutchin, he was seized with smallpox in prison, and was discharged to prevent the disease spreading.

Jefferies next proceeded to Exeter. There 38 suffered execution out of 243; the rest were either transported, whipped or imprisoned. At Taunton (Somerset) there were 500 prisoners; of these, Jefferies ordered 143 to be executed, and 284 to be transported for life. A considerable harvest here arose from compositions levied upon the friends of twenty-six young virgins, who presented Monmouth with colours which they had embroidered with their own hands. The fund was ostensibly for the benefit of "the Queen's maids of honour" but a strong suspicion arose that Jefferies participated in bribes for these as well as other pardons. He thought his prerogative was encroached upon by a letter to Lord Sunderland informing him of the King's pleasure to bestow 1,000 convicts on several courtiers and 100 on a favourite of the Queen—security being given that the prisoners should be enslaved for ten years on some West India Island. In the remonstrance he said that these convicts would be worth £10 or £15 a piece; and with a view to his own claim, returned thanks for His Majesty's acceptance of his services. However, he was obliged to submit to

the Royal distribution of the spoil. At Bristol only three executions took place. Jefferies, looking at the end of his campaign to the returns of the enemy killed, had the satisfaction to find that they numbered 330 besides 800 prisoners ordered to be transported. In the case of Prideaux, a west of England gentleman, a supporter of Monmouth, a reward of £500 with a free pardon was offered to anyone who would give evidence against him, but none could be found. A negotiation was opened with one Jennings, agent of Jefferies, for the sale of pardons, and the sum of £15,000 was actually paid to him by a banker for the deliverance of a man whose destruction could not be effected by any form of law.

The King and Jefferies, according to Lord Chancellor Campbell, were equally criminal, and both had their reward. Jefferies returning from the Western Circuit stopped at Windsor Castle by Royal command, and there, on 28th September, 1685, the Great Seal of England was delivered to him, with the title of Lord Chancellor. He took his place at the Court of Chancery on 23rd October. The public and the profession were much shocked to see such a man at the head of the law, but notwithstanding, there were plenty who gathered round him. Parliament reassembled on 9th November, when Jefferies took his seat on the Woolsack. The King addressed the two Houses, and told them that he could rely upon nothing but a good force of well-disciplined troops in constant pay, and that he was determined to employ officers in the army not qualified by the late test for their employments. When the King retired, Lord Halifax said "they had now more reason than ever to give thanks to His Majesty, since he had dealt so plainly with them and discovered what he would be at." Jefferies proposed that a humble address be presented to the King for his speech, which was agreed to; but on the bishop of London afterwards moving that a day might be appointed for taking the speech into consideration, this raised an animated debate. Lords

Halifax, Nottingham and Mordaunt treated with scorn the notion that the Constitution was to be sacrificed to a point of form ; if the power which the King now for the first time had openly claimed were conceded, the rights, privileges and property of the nation lay at his mercy. Jefferies responded in a very arrogant and insolent manner, and the House compelled him to make an apology, which he did in abject terms. Parliament was prorogued, but did not meet again in the reign of James.

On 29th April, 1686, the Scottish Parliament assembled in Edinburgh, when Queensberry, the High Commissioner, having been dismissed from the office of Lord Treasurer because he would not change his religion, the Earl of Moray was appointed in his place as a reward for his apostasy to the Protestant faith. An act for the removal of penalties attached to the Catholic worship was proposed by the King to the Lords of the Articles, without whose consent no measure could be laid before the Estates for their consideration, but the greater part of the bishops opposed the King's demand, and they were supported by some of the nobles. Sir George Mackenzie, the Lord Advocate, in spite of his claims on the gratitude of the King by his unscrupulous and illegal executions of many of the Covenanters, was dismissed from office, an act which was highly acceptable to the Scottish people, especially the Presbyterians : and Sir John Dalrymple was appointed in his place.

James, after the receipt of this information, resolved that he would have no more to do with Parliament, and would issue his commands to the Privy Council. He charged the Privy Council to rescind the laws against Catholics, and permit the Catholics the free practice of their religion, and to set apart the Chapel of Holyrood for their special use. Eleven Protestants were removed from the Council and replaced by Catholics. In three successive letters of Indulgence he announced his desire that Catholics and Protestants should have equal liberty in matters of religion. The first two letters prescribed conditions which the Presbyterians refused

to accept; the last so far met their wishes. They were now to serve God after their own way, provided nothing was taught to alienate their hearts from their prince. The recipients thanked the King for his generous and surprising favour. Conventicles were in full swing, and the pursuit of those who frequented them as energetic as ever.

The trial of the bishop of London for treason took place this year. The proceedings were of a protracted and uninteresting character, and resulted in the following sentence:—"Whereas Henry Compton, Lord Bishop of London, hath been convened before us for his disobedience and other counts, as mentioned in the proceedings of this cause, and he being fully heard thereon, we have thought fit, upon consideration of the matter, to proceed in this our definite sentence, declaring, decreeing, and pronouncing that he shall for his disobedience and contempt be suspended during His Majesty's pleasure; and accordingly we do by these presents suspend him peremptorily, admonishing and requiring him hereby to abstain from the function and execution of his Episcopal office, and from all Episcopal and other ecclesiastical jurisdiction during the suspension, upon pain of deprivation and removal from his bishopric. Sealed with the Seal of the Court, 6th September, 1686; by His Majesty's Commissioners for ecclesiastical affairs."

In the Declaration of Indulgence of 4th April, 1687, the King avowed that it was his earnest wish to see his people members of that Church to which he himself belonged; but since that could not be, he announced his intention to protect them in the free exercise of their religion. He had long been convinced that conscience was not to be forced, that persecution was unfavourable to population and to trade, and that it never attained the ends which persecutors had in view. He repeated his promise that he would protect the Established Church in the enjoyment of her legal rights, a promise often repeated and violated. He then proceeded to

annul by his own authority a long series of statutes, and he suspended all penal laws against Nonconformists and Protestants. He authorised both Catholics and Protestants to perform their worship publicly; and forbade his subjects on pain of his displeasure to molest any religious assembly. He also abrogated all those acts which imposed any religious test on a qualification for any civil or military office.[1] This declaration is said to have been the most audacious of all the attacks made by the Stuarts on public freedom. It was declared to be unconstitutional, and the production of an absolute monarch. Fifteen years before a Declaration of Indulgence had been issued by his brother Charles; it dispensed only with penal laws; that of James dispensed also with all religious tests; that of Charles permitted Catholics to celebrate their worship in private only; that of James authorised them to build temples and walk in procession in London with crosses, images and censers. Yet Charles's declaration was pronounced illegal. The Commons resolved that the King had no power to dispense with statutes in ecclesiastical matters. Charles ordered the instrument to be cancelled in his presence. Such was the position of parties that James's declaration was well calculated to please those by whom all the other attacks of the Stuarts on public freedom had been strenuously resisted.[2]

The more modest Presbyterians for the sake of peace agreed, but the Cameronians would accept no favour from a despotic sovereign whose allegiance they had renounced, and refused to accept an Indulgence obtained by the sacrifice of the fundamental laws of the realm. They refused to give security for their loyalty, and continued to hold conventicles in defiance of the vengeance ordained against all who preached in the fields. James Renwick, their great champion, became obnoxious to the Government, and after several hair-breadth escapes, was apprehended in February, 1688. He refused to retract, adhered resolutely to his principles,

[1] *London Gazette.* [2] Macaulay.

and was executed at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh. He was the last Protestant martyr who suffered in Scotland.

The King intimated to the Estates that he was resolved to dispense by his own authority with all the penal laws affecting Roman Catholics, and to visit with severe displeasure those who had dared to thwart his schemes. Eleven members of the Privy Council, who had opposed his designs in Parliament, were dismissed from office, and Catholics put in their place. In municipal government the King assumed the right of nominating the chief magistrates, and they in turn appointed the magistrates and council, so that these elections were practically transferred to the Crown. The King then intimated that Catholics would now be granted the free exercise of their religion, and would be at liberty to accept such offices as he might bestow. Judges and magistrates were forbidden to execute the laws against Catholics. A chapel would be fitted up in Holyrood for the public celebration of divine service (Catholic service). He became anxious to conciliate those who differed from him, and in 1687 he published his declaration for liberty of conscience, in which concessions were made. This was followed in July by another proclamation abolishing the laws imposing penalties on account of nonconformity, and all restrictions except the prohibition of field meetings.[1] In the matter of this declaration, William and Mary entirely disapproved of it, and wrote the King from Holland that they deeply regretted the course he had adopted. They were convinced that he had usurped a prerogative which did not by law belong to him ; against that usurpation they protested, not only as friends to civil liberty, but as members of the Royal House, who had a deep interest in maintaining the rights of the Crown, which they might one day assume. Experience had shown that in England arbitrary government could not fail to produce a reaction even more pernicious than

[1] Wodrow, vol. ii.

itself; and it might be reasonably feared that the nation, alarmed and incensed by the prospect of despotism, might conceive a disgust even for constitutional government. The advice, therefore, they tendered to the King was, that in all things he would govern according to law. They should with pleasure see Roman Catholics as well as Protestants relieved in a proper manner from all penal statutes, and Protestants admitted in a proper manner to civil office; they could not but entertain grave apprehensions that if Roman Catholics were made capable of public trust great evil would ensue.[1]

According to the Constitution, James possessed the right of naming public functionaries—political, judicial, ecclesiastical, military and naval. In the exercise of this right he was not under the necessity of acting in conformity with the advice of the House of Commons. It was evident, therefore, that unless he was strictly bound by law to bestow office on none but Protestants, it would be in his power to bestow office on none but Catholics.[2] How obstinately James was determined to bestow on the members of his Church a share of patronage out of all proportion to their numbers and importance, is proved by the instructions which, in exile, he drew up for the guidance of his son.

On 3rd September, 1687, James arrived at Oxford on a visit, and it was a characteristic visit. He was received with all the honours; the students in their academical robes were ranged to welcome him on the right hand and on the left, from the entrance to the city to the gate of Christ Church. On his arrival the Fellows of Magdalen College were ordered to attend him. When they appeared before him he treated them with great insolence: "You have not dealt with me like gentlemen; you have been unmannerly as well as undutiful." After these words from the King they fell on their knees and tendered a petition; but he would not look at it. "Is this your Church of England loyalty? I could not have believed that so many clergy of the

[1] Burnet, vol. i., p. 710. [2] Macaulay.

Church of England would have been concerned in such a business.[1] Go home. Get you gone; I am King; I will be obeyed. Go to your chapel this instant, and admit the bishop of Oxford. Let those who refuse look to it; they shall feel the whole weight of my hand; they shall know what it is to incur the displeasure of their sovereign." The Fellows, still kneeling before him, again offered him their petition, but he indignantly flung it down, saying: "Get you gone, I tell you; I will receive nothing from you till you have admitted the bishop." They retired and declared that in all things lawful they were ready to obey the King, but that they would not violate their statutes and their oaths. The King, incensed by his defeat, left Oxford and rejoined the Queen at Bath. His obstinacy and violence had brought him into an embarrassing position.[2] The King, however, was determined to carry out his views, however injudicious these might be, and he appointed special commissioners—Cartwright, bishop of Chester; Wright, Chief Justice of the King's Bench; and Sir Thomas Jenner, Baron of Exchequer, to exercise jurisdiction over Magdalen College. On the 20th October these men arrived at Oxford escorted by three troops of cavalry, and on the following morning the commissioners took their seats in the hall of the College. After a long debate, in which the learned President, John Hough, defended his rights with skill, temper and resolution, the Bishop put the question: "Will you submit to our visitation?" Hough replied: "I submit to it so far as it is consistent with the laws, and no further." The bishop then said: "Will you deliver up the key of your lodgings?" Hough was silent; the question was repeated, and Hough refused. The commissioners then pronounced him an intruder, and charged the Fellows no longer to recognise his authority, and to assist at the admission of the bishop of Oxford. The great majority of the members of the College declared that they still considered Hough their rightful

[1] The imposition of Popham, a Catholic President. [2] Macaulay.

head. Hough rose and addressed the commissioners, pronouncing their proceedings illegal, unjust and null, and appealed to the Courts of Justice. The commissioners became furious, and the proceedings broke up in confusion. The bishop of Oxford (James's nominee) was afterwards installed by proxy, only two members of Magdalen College attending. The porter of the College threw down his keys; the butler refused to erase Hough's name out of the buttery-book, and was instantly dismissed; no blacksmith could be found who would force the lock off the President's lodgings, and the commissioners' own servants broke open the door. Then the King, as he had threatened, by one sweeping edict, condemned the Fellows to expulsion from the College, and incapable of holding any Church preferment. The Vice-Chancellor was asked to dine with the commissioners. He replied: "I cannot eat my meals with appetite under a gallows." The College was thereafter made a Roman Catholic seminary. Following on this event Barillon reported to the Court that James was agreeable to a scheme to settle the crown on a Roman Catholic to the exclusion of his two daughters; also that Tyrconnel, James's Lord-Deputy for Ireland, declared he had the King's approbation for separating Ireland from the Empire, and placing the country under the French King, so soon as the crown should devolve on a Protestant sovereign. At this date, however (October, 1687), it began to be whispered that the Queen was pregnant, and these schemes were dropped.

By order of James, Jefferies, in 1688, surrendered the Great Seal, after which his career came to a speedy end. The approach of the Prince of Orange sounded the death-knell of the despotic rule of James, of Jefferies, and all the evil counsellors. There was a strong desire to prevent these men leaving the country, and ports on the Thames were carefully watched. Jefferies arranged to escape to Hamburg, knowing that being shorn of power he would be torn to pieces. He cut off his bushy eyebrows, dressed as a sailor, and covered his

head with an old hat. Thus disguised, he reached his ship lying at Wapping. As it could not sail till next day, he went on board another vessel to pass the night. The mate of the coal ship treacherously gave information to some persons who had been in pursuit of him, that he was concealed in the ship. On searching the vessel they found he had gone. Next morning he came ashore and ordered a pot of ale at an adjoining alehouse. He rashly put his head out of an open window to look at what was going on, and was at once detected by one of the crowd, a scrivener, who once came under the lash of Jefferies; on which occasion he said: "I am escaped from the terrors of that man's face, which I would not undergo again to save my life; I shall certainly have the frightful impression as long as I live." An immense number of persons crowded round the door of the alehouse at the scrivener's proclamation that the sailor was Jefferies. He was immediately seized, put into a coach, and taken to the Lord Mayor. The Lord Mayor, Sir John Chapman, was a timid man, who stood in awe of Jefferies; instead of ordering him to stand at the bar, with much bowing and many apologies for the liberty he was using, requested that his lordship would dine with him. A gentleman in the court said: "The Lord Chancellor is the Lord Mayor's prisoner, not his guest; and now to harbour him is treason, for which anyone, however high, may have to answer with his blood." It is said the Lord Mayor fainted and died shortly after. Jefferies was at once sent to the Tower. He was assailed by the Press in a manner which showed how his cruelties had brutalised the public mind. A poetical letter to him, advising him to cut his throat, concluded: "I am your lordship's OBEDIENT SERVANT in anything of this nature. From the little house over against Tyburn the people are almost dead with expectation of you." This was followed by a letter from Hell from Lord Ch——r Jefferies to L— C— B— W——d. Then came his last will and testament:—"In the name of AMBITION, the only god

of our sitting and worshipping, together with cruelty, perjury, pride, insolence, etc., I, George Jefferies, being in sound and perfect memory, of High Commissions, quo warrantos, dispensations, pillorisations, floggations, gibbetations, barbarity, butchery, do make my last will, etc., concluding:—I order an ell and a half of fine cambric to be cut into handkerchiefs for drying up all the wet eyes at my funeral; together with half a pint of burnt claret for all the mourners in the kingdom." He received in the Tower a small barrel marked "Colchester Oysters," of which he had always been fond. "Well," he exclaimed, on seeing it, "I have some friends left still," but on opening it the gift was a halter.

The Provisional Government issued an order for his more rigorous treatment in the Tower, with an intimation that he would speedily be brought to trial. Jefferies, however, shortly after 19th April, 1689, died in prison before the trial was arranged; he was only forty-one years of age. He once interfered at a contested election at Arundel; he had previously got the Great Seal, and was asked to go down and countenance the Tory candidate; he entered the town hall where the poll was going on; and the Mayor, who was the returning officer, having rejected a Tory vote, he rose in a passion and contended that the vote was clearly good, and insisted on its being admitted. The Mayor tried to silence him. Jefferies: "I am the Lord Chancellor of this realm." Mayor: "Impossible! Were you the Lord Chancellor, you would know that you have nothing to do here where I alone preside; officers, turn that fellow out of court!" Jefferies, abashed, withdrew to his inn, and wishing to hush the matter up, asked the Mayor to dine with him, but the Mayor declined.

The following epitaph was laid over his tomb:—

> Here England's great Lord Chancellor is laid,
> Who king and kingdom, Church and State betrayed;
> But may his crimes and bloodshed silent lie,
> And ne'er against the English nation cry.

(*By request of the widows of the West, whose husbands were hanged by Jefferies without trial.*)

CHAPTER IX.

Persecutions of Charles and James—Second Declaration of Indulgence—Trial and sentence of seven bishops—Birth of the Pretender—Rules for his upbringing — Plot to assassinate James—Arrival of the Prince of Orange—Escape of James—James seized and returns to London—He escapes to France—Seizure of Edinburgh Castle — Holyrood Abbey looted—Seizure of the Earl of Perth—James disowned in Scotland—William and Mary proclaimed—James's arrival in Ireland — His Dublin Parliament — Again escapes to France — Impeachment by the Scottish Convention—James's invasion of England — Jacobite plot against William — Death and Character of James.

REIGN OF JAMES VII.

A.D. 1685—1688.

In order to carry out his Catholic policy, James resolved to have a packed Parliament, a Parliament that would support his schemes, and in the *London Gazette* of 12th December, 1687, appeared a proclamation announcing that he had determined to revise the Commission of the Peace, and of Lieutenancy, and to retain in public employment only such gentlemen as would support his policy. In carrying out this plan sub-committees were appointed all over the country, who corresponded with the Central Board of Westminster. The persons on whom he chiefly relied were the Lords-Lieutenant, but many of these refused, including the Earl of Oxford, who was deprived of his Lieutenancy. The scheme entirely broke down, as very few of the Lords-Lieutenant would have anything to do with it.

The persecutions by Charles II. and James VII. lasted for the long period of twenty-eight years; during which time it is estimated that no less than 18,000

persons cruelly, and without sufficient reason, suffered death, or some form of torture, by order of one or other of these two tyrannical rulers, and all because of their religion; nearly 2,000 were banished to the plantations, of whom some hundreds perished on the voyage by shipwreck or cruel treatment; nearly 3,000 suffered the horrors of imprisonment in loathsome dungeons, and many were subjected to torture shocking to humanity; 7,000 went into voluntary exile; 700 were killed in encounters with soldiers; 500 were put to death in cold blood, and nearly 400 were murdered under the so-called form of law.[1] But the oppressive and despotic conduct of James in authorising the slaughter of so many people for no crime whatever except that they had been caught reading their Bibles, or had sheltered some of the Protestants or Covenanters, rendered his dismissal from the throne desirable as soon as it could be carried out. The Scottish nation, being heartily sick of his rule, resolved before the birth of the Prince of Wales on 10th June, to invite his son-in-law, William of Orange, to come over and assist them in administering the laws of the kingdom, and in maintaining the liberties and rights of the people.

On 27th April, 1688, the King issued a second Declaration of Indulgence. In this paper he recited at length the former Declaration; his past life, he said, ought to have convinced his people that he was not a person who could easily be induced to depart from any resolution which he had formed. As designing men had attempted to persuade the world that he might be prevailed upon to give way in this matter, he thought it necessary to proclaim that his purpose was fixed, that he was resolved to employ those only who were prepared to concur in his designs, and that he had dismissed many of his disobedient servants from civil and military employment. He announced that he meant to hold a Parliament in November, and

[1] Taylor.

he exhorted his subjects to choose representatives who would assist him in the work he had undertaken.

There is an anecdote told of Admiral Herbert and King James. Closeted with the King, Herbert was asked if he would vote for the repeal of the Test Act; his answer was that his honour and conscience would not permit him to do so. "Nobody doubts your honour," said the King, "but a man who lives as you do, ought not to talk about conscience." Herbert replied: "I have my faults, sir; but I could name people who talk much more about conscience than I am in the habit of doing, and yet lead lives as loose as mine." This was pointing at the King, who was an immoral man. The result of this conversation was that Herbert was dismissed from all his offices under the Crown.

On 5th May, 1688, he made an order in Council that a declaration should be read on two successive Sundays in all the churches of the kingdom. In London only four out of 100 parish churches obeyed the order. The clergy of the Church of England regarded it as a violation of the laws of the realm. On 18th May seven bishops met at Lambeth Palace, when the Archbishop of Canterbury [1] drew up an answer to the King assuring him of their loyalty to the throne, but pointing out that Parliament had pronounced that the sovereign was not constitutionally competent to dispense with statutes on matters ecclesiastical. The declaration was therefore illegal, and the bishops could not be parties to the solemn publication of an illegal declaration in the House of God, and during the time of divine service. This paper was signed by seven bishops, including the Archbishop. The six bishops presented it to the King at Whitehall. He read it in their presence, and was greatly surprised at the refusal: "This is a great surprise to me; I did not expect this from your Church, especially from some of you. This is a standard of rebellion; I tell you, this is a standard of rebellion."

[1] Sancroft.

"Rebellion!" cried Trelawney, one of the bishops, falling on his knees. "For God's sake, sir, do not say so hard a thing of us. No Trelawney can be a rebel; remember that my family have fought for the Crown; remember how I served your Majesty when Monmouth was in the West." "We put down the last rebellion," said Lake, another bishop, "we shall not raise another." "We rebel," said Turner, another bishop, "we are ready to die at your Majesty's feet." "Sir," said Bishop Ken, in a more manly tone, "I hope you will grant us that liberty of conscience which you grant to all mankind." James replied: "This is rebellion; this is a standard of rebellion. Did ever a good Churchman question the dispensing power before? Have not some of you preached for it and written for it? It is a standard of rebellion; I will have my declaration published." "We have two duties to perform," said Ken, "our duty to God, and our duty to your Majesty; we honour you, but we fear God." The King, waxing angry, said: "Have I deserved this? I who have been such a friend in your Church; I did not expect this from some of you. I will be obeyed; my declaration shall be published; you are trumpeters of sedition; what do you do here? Go to your dioceses, and see that I am obeyed. I will keep this paper, I will not part with it; I will remember you who have signed it." Said Ken: "God's will be done." The King: "God has given me the dispensing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you there are still 7,000 of our Church who have not bowed the knee to Baal." The bishops then retired; their conduct was rapturously applauded by the people. On the 8th June these seven bishops were tried before the King and council for presenting this petition and refusing to read the declaration. The trial was brief, and the bishops were put in the Tower, going in a barge from Whitehall to London Bridge. The excitement was intense: the whole river was alive with boats. When the bishops came forth under a guard, thousands, it is said, fell on their knees

and prayed aloud for the men who had confronted a tyrant inflamed by all the bigotry of Mary; many dashed into the stream, and up to their waists in water cried to the bishops to bless them. The Royal barge, with the bishops, passed between lines of boats to London Bridge, the people shouting: "God bless your lordships." The King got alarmed, and gave orders that the garrison at the Tower should be doubled, and that two companies should be detached from every regiment in the kingdom and sent up to London. Even the sentinels at the traitors' gate asked a blessing from the bishop whom they were to guard. In the garrison at the Tower the soldiers drank to the bishops' health in spite of their officers. A deputation of ten Nonconformist ministers visited the bishops in the Tower, which displeased the King, and he sent for four of them. They courageously told him that they meant to stand by the men who stood by the Protestant religion. On the 29th June the bishops were tried in the Court of King's Bench before a jury, and acquitted with a verdict of not guilty. The verdict was received with acclamation; the roar of the multitude was such that for half an hour scarcely a word could be heard in court. The whole city was in a blaze of rejoicing, and the bells of the churches rang for some time.[1]

The Queen was at St. James's Palace on 10th June, 1688, safely delivered of a son, afterwards the Prince of Wales and Chevalier St. George—the Pretender. It was maintained by the Protestants that this was a surreptitious child, conveyed clandestinely into the Queen's bedchamber, and that the Queen was not pregnant. This theory was promptly dealt with, and turned out to be a fable. The Protestants called the child the Pretender, because it was said he was the King's child, which they said he was not. It was established beyond doubt that the child was the lawful son of James, by the depositions of no less than twenty

[1] Tanner MSS., Sancroft Narrative.

MARY OF MODENA.

Queen of Great Britain. Wife of James VII.

(By Kneller, Blair's College Collection.)

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ladies who were present at the birth, and by sixteen members of the Privy Council, and four peers who were also present, and whose depositions are recorded; and lastly, as the child grew up his likeness to his father was undeniable.[1] No more abominable imposture ever awaited exposure than the warming pan story which led weak-minded people to believe the child to be surreptitious; and although, owing to his own honesty in cleaving to the religion in which he was brought up, the Pretender never received the crown, yet the sympathy of thousands who shared not his religion followed him to the death.[2] It was not until many years afterwards, when men had thought over the probabilities and looked calmly at the evidence, that the Pretender was believed by his traducers to be the son of King James and Mary of Modena. Queen Anne gets the credit in some quarters of having invented this story, being afraid that a lawful child would exclude her from the throne, and certainly this was not without reason, for in a letter of 20th March, 1688, to the Princess of Orange, she says :—"When anyone talks of her (Mary of Modena) situation, she looks as if she were afraid we would touch her. Whenever I have happened to be in the room and she has been undressing she has always gone into the bedroom. These things give me so much suspicion that I believe when the time comes no one will be convinced 'tis her child unless it prove a daughter."[3]

There was no doubt in the King's mind as to the child's legitimacy; the elaborate rules he laid down for the upbringing and education of the child exceed anything of the kind which is to be found regarding any other scion of the House of Stuart; these Rules are

[1] The Queen was much annoyed at the presence of Jefferies in the bedchamber when the Prince of Wales was born. The Archbishop was not present, as he was a prisoner in the Tower. Half the Privy Council present were Catholics; many of the women French, Italian, Portuguese; but posterity has fully acquitted the King of the fraud.—(Macaulay.)

[2] Macaulay. [3] Strickland.

amongst the Stuart Papers, and being highly original and unique, we reproduce them. They were as follows:—

The governor, or one of the under-governors, must constantly attend on the Prince at all times and in all places, except when he is at his book or catechism with his preceptor. The two under-governors shall wait on him week about, so that one shall always be within call of the governor to receive his orders; the governor shall sleep at night in the Prince's chamber, or in his absence the under-governor-in-waiting. He is also to wait on the Prince at his meals when he eats in his own lodging, but when he eats with us, the governor must wait upon him only at such times when any gentleman of the bedchamber waits upon us, and we are attended only at table by a groom of the bedchamber, the under-governor-in-waiting shall attend on the Prince. If any of the Prince's servants shall in his presence say or do anything rude or indecent, the governor or under-governor-in-waiting shall forbid such person the Prince's presence, and punish him according to his deserts. The offices of preceptor and governor being independent, these officers must agree on the time to be appointed for the Prince learning his book and catechism; certain times must be appointed for strangers to wait upon the Prince, and none are to be admitted who come at other times, unless the occasion is special. No one is to be permitted to whisper in the Prince's ear, or talk with him in private out of the hearing of the governor or under-governor. No one is permitted to make the Prince any present without first showing it to the governor or under-governor, and obtaining leave to give it. No one must presume to give the Prince anything to eat; nor any flowers, perfumes, or sweet waters, etc., without leave from the governor; no books, written papers, or anything of that nature to be given to the Prince without showing them to the governor or preceptor and getting their approval; and no songs to be taught the Prince but such as the governor shall

approve. No children to be permitted to come into the Prince's lodging to play with him, unless sent for by the governor, and then not more than two or three at a time. The proper time to send for such children will be after dinner or supper; no one to whisper or run into corners with him out of the hearing of the governor. The governor shall receive instructions from us what children are suitable to play with the Prince, or go in coach with him. Grooms of the Prince's bedchamber shall serve week about, so that one be always in waiting, the other in half-waiting; their business is to dress and undress him, to lie by him in turns, to wait at his meals, and to follow him from place to place; the groom-in-waiting shall go with him in coach, so that he be sufficiently attended. One gentleman waiter must always attend on him except when he goes abroad in coach, and if there be a second coach such waiter shall go in it. Pages of the back stairs are to wait weekly by turns; one of them must constantly wait at the bedchamber door; they are not to talk with the Prince, but to receive their orders from the governor; the footman also must serve his turn the same way; one of them is always to wait at the first door to let persons in and out, and must not leave the key in the door. They must let in none but whom they know, unless brought by some of the family, and not even then, till the governor be acquainted, and his leave asked. No servant, page, or footman, must ever open any door for the Prince to go out of his lodging but when the governor gives orders. The Prince's hour of rising in the morning to be about seven and a half; the time between that and nine may be allotted for his dressing, his morning prayers, his waiting upon us, and taking his breakfast. At nine a.m. he may hear Mass, which done, his studies may begin, and may be continued as long as his preceptor shall think proper. When his book is done there will be time enough between that and dinner, which will be about twelve and a half, for dancing, writing, or any other exercise that costs but

half an hour. After dinner there will be an hour or more for play; and two hours more in the afternoon must be allotted for studies. The time for receiving company will be at his levee or at dinner; in the evening after studies are done and at supper. Orders must be given not to let in all people without distinction, and care must be taken that those who are admitted may not talk with the Prince too familiarly. What times are allotted in week-days for his book must be employed on Sundays and holidays by the preceptor in catechism, reading of good books, Christian doctrine, and the like. Money appointed for the use of the Prince must be received by the governor, who shall lay it out according to his discretion. Anything not included in these rules to be referred to us, and our pleasure therein shall be known.

A plot to assassinate James immediately on his abdication of the crown was said to have been all arranged by Churchill (Marlborough) and some companions. The matter is pretty fully recited in Carte's Papers, No. 12: — Sir George Hewit's deathbed confession of Churchill's intention to kill James II., communicated to Carte in a letter from Alexander Malet of Combe Flory, September, 1745. A meeting took place at Hatton Compton's lodgings in St. Alban's Street, London, at the landing of the Prince of Orange, attended by Churchill, the Bishop of London, Colonel Kirk and others. The meeting discussed how they could best further the designs of the Prince of Orange and defeat those of James, whose success would ruin themselves and their religion. It was resolved to secure James and deliver him up to the Prince, but if he should be rescued by Papist officers, Captain Cornelius Wood and Sir George Hewit, as James was travelling from Salisbury to Warminster, were to shoot him; if that missed, then Churchill, who was provided with a pocket pistol and a dagger, and was travelling in the coach with him, was to shoot or stab him. It would

appear, however, that James's nose fell a-bleeding at Salisbury, and the journey to Warminster did not take place. We hear nothing more of this plot.

The Prince of Orange complied with an invitation from England, and made his arrangements to come over as soon as he could complete these. It was on the 5th November, 1688, that he landed with 14,000 troops at Torbay on the Devonshire coast. James was not slow to see that the invitation to the Prince of Orange meant his downfall, and like all great tyrants when their end becomes visible, he collapsed, expressed his sorrow for what he had done, was unbounded in his expressions of regret for the past, and promised to reform and do better for the future. But the die was cast, and the day of reckoning had come. His High Commission Court with its death record was at once broken up and abolished, and efforts made to conciliate the University of Oxford by reversing James's orders and restoring to Magdalen College her displaced Fellows. The bishops were once more received with favour. When the Prince of Orange's intentions were officially communicated to him, he is said to have nearly fainted, and to have allowed the despatch which brought the tidings to fall to the ground. His first act was to send the Queen and his infant son to France for safety; he then resolved to fight for his life, and proceeded to gather what troops he could. It must be remembered that James at this period had reached the mature age of fifty-five years, and his expressions of regret and his undertaking to reform and do better in future was the merest attempt to hoodwink the Privy Council. In both the English and Scottish Parliaments the feeling to dismiss him from the Crown had been growing for some time, and every opportunity had been given him to amend and modify his tyrannical administration. The result was absolute failure, and the invitation to William of Orange was adopted as the only alternative. There is one point in these deliberations that cannot be passed

over without notice. When the Prince of Wales was born he was the lawful heir of the throne, although he was born some weeks after his father's dethronement.

Walking along the Pall Mall with the Earl of Balcarres and Graham of Claverhouse, James asked them how they came to be with him when all the world had forsaken him for the Prince of Orange. Balcarres replied that their fidelity to so good a master would ever be the same; they had nothing to do with the Prince of Orange. Graham also professed his fidelity. "Will you two, as gentlemen," said James, "say you have still attachment to me?" "Sir, we do," was the reply. "Will you give me your hands upon it as men of honour?" They did so. Said James: "Well, I see you are the men I always took you to be; you shall know all my intentions. I can no longer remain here but as a cipher, or be a prisoner to the Prince of Orange, and we know that there is but a small distance between the prisons and the graves of kings; I have resolved to take a temporary refuge in France. When I am there you shall receive my instructions; you, Lord Balcarres, shall have a commission to manage my civil affairs, and you, Lord Dundee, to command my troops."

Early in November the Prince of Orange issued his Declaration to the English people, at which the Jacobites were struck dumb with surprise. James ordered Archbishop Sancroft and the bishops to bring a written paper renouncing all connection with this Declaration. That, of course, was impossible, as Sancroft was said to have drafted the text of the invitation to the Prince. "Where," said the King, "is the paper that you have to bring to me?" Sancroft: "Sir, we have brought no paper; we are not solicitous to clear our fame to the world. It is no new thing to us to be reviled and falsely accused: our consciences acquit us; your Majesty acquits us, and we are satisfied." The King: "Yes, but a declaration from you is necessary to my service." He then produced

the manifesto. "Sir," said one of the bishops, "not one person in 500 believes the manifesto to be genuine." "No," said the King fiercely; "then those 500 would bring the Prince of Orange to cut my throat. This paper not genuine! Am I not worthy to be believed? Is my word not to be taken?" The bishops replied: "This is not an ecclesiastical matter; it lies within the sphere of the civil power. God has entrusted your Majesty with the sword; and it is not for us to invade your functions." Sancroft: "I and my brethren, sir, have already smarted severely for meddling with the affairs of State, and we shall be very cautious how we do so again. We once subscribed a petition of the most harmless kind; we presented it in the most respectful manner, and we found that we had committed a high offence; we were saved from ruin only by the merciful protection of God; and, sir, the ground thus taken by your Majesty's Attorney was that out of Parliament we were private men, and that it was criminal presumption in us to meddle in politics. They attacked us so fiercely that for my part I gave myself over as lost." "I thank you for that, my Lord of Canterbury," said the King. "I should have hoped that you would not have thought yourself lost by falling into my hands." The King insisted on having from the bishops a paper declaring their disapproval of William's enterprise, but they emphatically refused. The King: "I see how it is; some of the temporal peers have been with you, and have persuaded you to cross me in this matter." This they denied, saying it would seem strange that on a question involving grave political and military considerations, the temporal peers should be entirely passed over, and the prelates alone be required to take a prominent part. The King: "But this is my method. I am your King, it is for me to judge what is best. I will do my own way, and I call on you to assist me." The bishops assured him that as Christian ministers they would do so with their prayers and

advice. The King: "I will urge you no further; since you will not help me, I must trust to myself and to my own arms."[1] The meeting dispersed, everyone being disgusted with the King's arrogance. A number of peers desired a meeting of a free and legal Parliament, and a petition to that effect was presented to the King, Sancroft being at the head of it. The King received it ungraciously. "How," said he, "can a Parliament be free when an enemy is in the kingdom and can return nearly a hundred votes? I could not prevail on you the other day to declare against this invasion, but you are ready enough to declare against me. You have excited this rebellious temper among your flocks, and now you foment it; you would be better employed in teaching them how to obey than in teaching me how to govern." He was displeased with his nephew, the Duke of Grafton, for signing the petition, and in an outburst of temper said to him: "You know nothing about religion; you care nothing about it; and yet you must pretend to have a conscience." Grafton: "It is true, sir, that I have very little conscience; but I belong to a party which has a great deal."[2] After the deputation had gone, the King said he would yield nothing more, "not an atom." Not only would he make no overtures to the invaders but he would receive none. If the Dutch sent flags of truce, "the first messenger would be dismissed without an answer; the second would be hanged." Immediately after this the King, having appointed a council of five to represent him in his absence, went to Salisbury and took up his quarters in the Episcopal palace.

The Prince turned out to be a man of irreproachable character, although he was neither a determined nor a vigorous man, as was in future years illustrated by his short residence at Scone in 1715: his behaviour at that rebellion indicated that he would have been a vast improvement on his father had he obtained the

[1] Clarke's Life of James. [2] *Ibid.*

crown. He was punished for the sins of his father, a proceeding which posterity will disapprove. If James and his brother, Charles II., governed the realm as dictators, that was no reason why the heir to the crown should be deprived of his birthright. The Scottish people in 1715 paid a high premium for their treatment of their unfortunate Prince, who all but achieved his rights by conquest at the memorable engagement of Sheriffmuir, and would undoubtedly have victoriously achieved them had his commander-in-chief, John Erskine, eleventh Earl of Mar, shown more military capacity, and been equal to the important task he had undertaken. Mar was a grandson of Thomas Hay, sixth Earl of Kinnoull. The Prince being a Catholic, that no doubt also contributed to his defeat.

In a half-hearted manner James marched his troops to Salisbury, where he again heard of the approach of the Prince of Orange, but his pusillanimous conduct caused his generals one by one to desert him. Even his son-in-law, the Prince of Denmark, left him, and on his return to London he found that his daughter Anne had left him too, at which he exclaimed: "Gracious God! am I then deserted by my own children?" He summoned a Council of Peers, and informed them he would convene a new Parliament; and repeated his assurances of supporting Church and State as by law established, earnestly appealing to them for their assistance and advice. It was said by his opponents: "Where are the looks and where the spirit that but yesterday made three kingdoms tremble?" On his way to Parliament he encountered the Earl of Bedford, whose son, the celebrated Lord Russell, was beheaded in the previous reign at the instigation of James. The King asked him to use his influence to help him in present circumstances. "I am old, sir," replied Bedford; "but I had a son who might have been of service to your Majesty on this occasion." James was silent, and passed on. Betrayed by his friends and deserted by the army, he began to realise that all was lost, and he

made arrangements to escape to France. At three o'clock on the morning of 11th December, attended by Sir Edward Hales and two servants, he left Whitehall by a private passage which led to the Thames, where he entered a boat in waiting, rowed by two watermen. He carried with him the Great Seal of England, which he had ordered Jefferies to surrender, and threw it into the Thames. It was, however, afterwards recovered.

James crossed the Thames at Millbank and went to Sheerness. On 12th December he went on board the Custom-house boat at Faversham. The Kentish fishermen were suspicious, and a number of them boarded it just as she was about to sail. The passengers were told they must go ashore and be examined by a magistrate. James was rudely pulled and pushed about, and his money and his watch taken from him. The prisoners were put on shore and carried to an inn, where James was recognised. The fishermen assured him that they would not hurt him, but they refused to release him. His detention created great surprise in London. A council of the Lords ordered a troop of the Lifeguards to the place where he was detained and set him at liberty. The King was suffered to depart without opposition ; he was in a pitiable state. The rough treatment he had received appeared to have discomposed him more than any other event of his life, and it is said the remembrance of these indignities continued long to rankle in his heart. This was the tyrant brought to bay at last, and a sorry exhibition he made. He had plenty of courage and insolence when there was no one to oppose him ; but when he got a rough handling from these fishermen who did not know him, he simply collapsed. It would have been better for the country and for himself if he had got this rough handling a little sooner. He returned to Whitehall on 16th December, and sent a message desiring an interview with William. This request was refused.

James was in bed, when at midnight his privacy was

suddenly broken in upon by Lords Halifax, Shrewsbury and Delamere; they informed him that it was the wish of the Prince of Orange that he should leave next morning and go to the Duchess of Lauderdale's seat in Surrey. He begged that he might go to Rochester, which was agreed to. In Rochester he remained till 23rd December. On that night he retired at his usual hour, but as soon as the company were gone he got up and dressed, and with three companions, they at midnight rowed down the river to a boat which was waiting at Sheerness. They crossed the Channel without interruption, and on Christmas Day, 1688, arrived at Picardy, and were heartily welcomed by the French King.[1] After the flight of the King, the Prince of Orange summoned a convention at Westminster, when much gratitude was expressed to the Prince for the deliverance he had achieved for the nation. They then voted, and ordained that James, having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution and withdraw himself out of the kingdom, had abdicated the crown, and the throne was thereby vacant. James attempted to keep up a correspondence with the Privy Council, but the revolutionary party intercepted his communications. This was followed in Scotland by a mob determined to take possession of the Chapel Royal, Holyrood. The Royal vault was opened, and leaden coffins enclosing the remains of members of the Royal House were rudely broken up. Edinburgh was in arms; multitudes of the citizens, escorted by the magistrates in their robes, proceeded to Holyrood and ordered Captain Wallace, the keeper, to surrender; which Wallace refused to do. An entrance, however, was secretly effected at the back, and the palace and chapel were soon in the hands of the assailants. Thereupon the ornaments of the chapel—crucifixes, pictures, and images—were seized and paraded in mock procession through the streets of Edinburgh, then burned within the precincts of the abbey. The Jesuits' College was sacked and burned; its printing

[1] Stuart Papers.

press and library destroyed, and many of the private dwellings of the Catholics shared the same fate. The Earl of Perth, Chancellor of Scotland, had gone to his residence at Drummond Castle to be out of the way. He was a tool of the King, and did whatever he was told. His conscience smote him, and he thereafter resolved to escape. He reached Burntisland in disguise, and took ship there, but the vessel was overtaken, boarded and searched, and the Earl discovered in the hold in women's clothes. He was seized, stripped and plundered, and put in Kirkcaldy gaol, after which he was placed in Stirling Castle, where he remained a prisoner four years.

The following is the list of those English nobles who protested against the abdication of James:—The Dukes of Somerset, Grafton, Ormond, Beaufort, Northumberland; the Archbishop of York; the Earls of Pembroke, Exeter, Scarsdale, Clarendon, Craven, Aylesbury, Lichfield, Faversham, Berkeley, Nottingham, Rochester, Abington, Winchester; the Bishops of Norwich, Lincoln, Llandaff, Gloucester, Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Bristol, Peterboro', St. David's; Lords Delaware, Chandos, Brooke, Maynard, Lee, Jermin, Arundel, Dartmouth and Griffin.[1]

Two months after James escaped to France it occurred to him, that though forsaken by the English people he was hopeful of Scotland, and his lieutenant, Melfort, Lord Perth's brother, sent to Edinburgh by his instructions an appeal to replace the exiled monarch. Even in his hopeless position he indulged the hope of being restored, as will be noticed from his singling out in this letter those who would be pardoned and those who would not. It showed how deeply rooted in his blood was the spirit of revenge. The appeal was in the following terms:—

Whereas we have been informed that you are to meet at Edinburgh some time in March, by the usurped authority of the Prince of Orange, we think fit to let

[1] Harleian MSS.

you know, that as we have always relied on the faithfulness and affection of you, our ancient people, so much so that in our greatest misfortunes we had recourse to your assistance, and that with good success to our affairs. So now again we require you to support our Royal interest, expecting from you what becomes loyal and faithful subjects, generous and honest men, that you will neither suffer yourselves to be cajolled nor frightened with any action unbecoming true-hearted Scotsmen. And that to support the honour of your nation, you will not continue the base example of disloyal men, and stamp your names by a loyalty suitable to the professions you have undertaken. In doing so you will choose the safest part, since thereby you will evade the danger you must needs undergo—the infamy and disgrace you must bring upon yourselves in this world, and the condemnation due to the rebellious in the next. And you will likewise have the opportunity to secure for yourselves and your posterity the gracious promises we have so often made of securing your religion laws, property, liberty and rights which we are resolved to confirm, as soon as it is possible for us to meet you safely in the Parliament of our ancient kingdom. In the meantime, fear not to declare for us, your lawful sovereign, who will not fail to give you such speedy and powerful assistance, as shall not only enable you to defend yourselves from any foreign attempt, but put you in a condition to assert our right against our enemies, who have invaded the same by the blackest of usurpations, the most unjust as well as the most unnatural of attempts, which Almighty God may for a time permit and let the wicked prosper. Yet the end must bring confusion on such workers of iniquity. We further advise you that we will pardon all such as shall return to their duty, and that we will punish with the rigour of the law all who shall stand out in rebellion against us. Not doubting that you will declare for us, and suppress whatever may oppose our interest, and that you will send some of your number to us with an

account of your diligence and the position of our affairs there, we bid you heartily farewell.

Given on board the *St. Michael*, 1st March, 1689. By His Majesty's command.

This letter was read with surprise and indignation before the Estates of Scotland on 16th March, 1689, and must be regarded as a remarkable communication. Its insincerity, its hypocrisy, its arrogance are conspicuous throughout. After his wholesale massacres of his subjects in England and Scotland, and the Dunnottar outrage, this letter, asking the Scottish people to replace him on the throne, was a gross insult to the Scottish Parliament.

On 14th March, 1689, a convention of the Estates met in Edinburgh, when the Duke of Hamilton was by a majority elected President, as against the Duke of Atholl, who was put forward by the Jacobites. This election was a blow to the supporters of James. Both the Prince of Orange and James addressed letters to the convention, but that of James was not read.

On 4th April the Estates passed a vote, declaring that James had forfeited his right to the crown. The vote contains an arraignment of James for the offences held to justify the doom pronounced against him. Among those, his efforts for the establishment of Popery are conspicuous. They were followed by a catalogue of outrages against the liberties and rights of the people. For these offences, the Estates found and declared that James, being a professed Papist, did assume the regal power, and acted as King without taking the oath required by law; and by the advice of evil and wicked counsellors invaded the fundamental Constitution of the kingdom, and altered it from a legal, limited monarchy to an arbitrary, despotic power, exercised the same to the subversion of the Protestant religion and the violation of the laws and liberties of the nation; inverting all the ends of Govern-

ment, whereby he hath forfeited his right to the crown, and the throne is become vacant.[1]

On 11th April, 1689, the Estates, who were determined to have nothing more to do with James, adopted a Claim of Right, and with it an offer of the crown to William and Mary. The right claimed was the constitutional power of the Estates to dethrone a ruler who had violated the laws of the kingdom. This instrument was composed of the political charges already made, slightly altered and enlarged, as the reasons for forfeiting the crown. On the same day William and Mary were proclaimed at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh.

To convey the offer of the Estates to the two sovereigns, commission was given to the Earl of Argyll, Sir James Montgomery of Skelmorlie, and Sir John Dalrymple, as representatives of the peers, barons and burghs respectively. The ceremony took place at Whitehall on 11th May. According to the Scots fashion, William and Mary repeated the words of the coronation oath after Argyll, who recited them. William declared that he would not come under an obligation to be a persecutor, but the words were explained to his satisfaction.[2]

The condition of Ireland became a perplexing question for the Prince of Orange, particularly as it was a Catholic stronghold. The Earl of Tyrconnel was General of the forces there. He sent Viscount Mountjoy, and Rice, an Irish chief baron, to France to invite James to come over to Ireland. James consented, and applied to the French King to assist him with troops. The French King refused to give him an army, but a fleet was ordered to be in readiness to sail, and arms and ammunition for 10,000 men were put on board, and an organising force of 400 was to accompany the fleet; and gold equal to £112,000 sterling was sent to Brest. On 15th February, 1689,

[1] Minutes of Convention of Estates.

[2] Population of Edinburgh at this date, 60,000; Glasgow, 30,000

James paid a farewell visit to Versailles, when there were great demonstrations in his honour. It was the season of the carnival. In the evening the two Kings made their appearance before a brilliant circle of lords and ladies. "I hope," said Louis, "that we are about to part never again to meet in this world; that is the best wish I can form for you. But if any evil chance should force you to return, be assured that you will find me to the last such as you have found me hitherto." James, with an escort, set out on the journey, and arrived at Brest on 5th March, 1689. Count Avaux, French Ambassador of The Hague, accompanied him. James arrived at Kinsale on 12th March and proceeded to Cork, where he met Tyrconnel. He was warmly received everywhere. From Cork he went to Dublin; the entire route was lined by Irish peasants and others who had enthusiastically welcomed him. Long frieze mantles were spread along the path; pipers came forth to play before him, and the villagers danced wildly to the music. The women insisted on kissing His Majesty, but he ordered his retinue to keep them at a distance. On 24th March he entered Dublin; in one place was stationed a troop of friars with a cross; in another, forty girls dressed in white and carrying nosegays. Pipers and harpers were numerous; the Lord Deputy carried the sword of State; the judges, heralds, Lord Mayor and aldermen appeared in their robes; soldiers were drawn upon the right and left, and a procession of twenty coaches was mustered. Before the castle gate, the King was met by the host under a canopy borne by four bishops; at sight of them he fell on his knees and passed some time in devotion; he was then conducted to the chapel of the palace. Next morning he held a Privy Council; discharged Chief Justice Keating from any further attendance at the board, ordered Avaux and Bishop Cartwright to be sworn in, and issued a proclamation for a Parliament to be held in Dublin on 7th May. From Dublin James and his

followers proceeded to Ulster and Londonderry; they besieged that town, but it held out, and James returned to Dublin, where he convened Parliament on 7th May. About 250 members took their seats, of whom only 6 were Protestants. After the King's speech it appointed a Speaker, expressed its gratitude to James and Louis, and then proceeded to business; the policy of this Parliament was spoliation and slaughter.

James's next act in Ireland was to authorise the issue of base coin, as the Irish Exchequer was absolutely empty. Pots, pans, knockers of doors, pieces of ordnance, etc., were sent to the Mint and coined, and abundance of base coin was soon in circulation. An edict was issued declaring these to be legal tender. A mortgage of £1,000 was cleared off by a bag of counters made out of old kettles. The Protestant merchants of Dublin were the greatest losers; any man who belonged to the party of James might walk into a shop, lay on the counter a bit of brass worth threepence, and carry off goods to the value of half a guinea; legal redress was out of the question.[1] Some who refused this money were arrested by troopers, carried before the Provost Marischal, who forced them, locked them up in dark cells, and by threatening to hang them at their own doors, soon overcame their resistance. This Irish Parliament of James passed what is known as the great Act of Attainder, an unexampled act of oppression and confiscation, which showed that James, while playing his last card, which he was now doing, was as destitute as ever of the common feelings of humanity. This act was to benefit the Irish Catholics at the expense of the Protestants. A list was framed containing nearly 3,000 names, which included half the Irish peerage—baronets, clergymen and merchants. Days were fixed, before which those whose names were on the list were required to surrender themselves to such justice as was then administered to Protestants in Dublin. If a proscribed person was in Ireland, he must surrender himself by

[1] Macaulay.

10th August; if he had left Ireland before the 5th November, 1688, he must surrender by 1st October; if he failed to appear by the appointed day he was to be hanged, drawn and quartered without a trial, and his property confiscated. It was not even pretended that there had been any inquiry into the guilt of those who were thus proscribed, as none of them had been heard in their own defence; and as it was certain that it would be physically impossible for many of them to surrender themselves in time, it was clear that nothing but a large exercise of the Royal prerogative could prevent the perpetration of iniquities so horrible that no precedent could be found even in the lamentable history of the troubles of Ireland.[1] To complete the execrable nature of this act, care was taken to prevent the persons who were attainted from knowing that they were so till the day of grace had passed.

Under date July, 1689, Dublin Castle, he wrote the Earl of Dover:—"Since the invasion of this our kingdom by the Prince of Orange, we have changed our design of going immediately into England for that of preserving Ireland. You are to press our brother, the most Christian King, to send us immediately 12,000 muskets or firelocks; the more firelocks, the better for our service. You must press him for 1,000 barrels of powder, with match and musket ball in proportion; this kingdom being perfectly destitute of things of that kind. These, with a present supply of money, you must press for as of immediate necessity, and that no time be lost you must have the arms lying at Brest for our service despatched without delay. You must have a considerable number of swords, there being a great want of them among the forces; sabres, if you can get them, are preferable; and belts in proportion. You must also procure 6,000 foot soldiers of the most Christian King, without which our affairs will be in great danger. Let him know that all our interest depends on this one step, and its expedition. These men must have officers,

[1] Macaulay.

arms, train of artillery, boats for the bridge, and all things necessary for the service." It does not appear how the French King received this extraordinary request, nor how he responded, but the battle of the Boyne followed shortly after.

At the end of July James prorogued his Parliament, it having sat ten weeks. The siege of Londonderry, already referred to, was raised, having lasted 105 days, during which many heartless cruelties were perpetrated by the officers of James's troops, who were unsuccessful in capturing that stronghold. The conduct of Rosen, his general, in murdering innocent people, who were Protestants, but guilty of no crime, was infamous; it is said that 8,000 of James's troops fell at this memorable siege.

The Prince of Orange, knowing all his movements, advanced into Ireland.

James actually proposed to desert his troops and escape for his life, but he was shamed out of this cowardly resolution. Thereafter took place the famous battle of the Boyne,[1] when James was totally defeated and compelled to return to France, where, it is said, he spent the remainder of his life in retirement, devoting his time to religion and indulging in the deepest remorse (so it is said) for his past life and for the persecution and brutal atrocities which marked his administration; he had much need to do so. We have few details of his life at this period, but he was spared for many years, and was thus afforded time to reflect on the inhumanity of his public life, and on the shocking massacres of human beings, and revolting tortures of innocent persons, of which he had been the author. He had reason to repent, and spend the evening of his life in supplication to Almighty God for mercy and forgiveness. The year 1690 had not passed before the discontent in England became serious, and influential men, who had helped to bring about a revolution, were found establishing communication with the ex-King at

[1] *See* William and Mary.

St. Germains, while at the same time they were supporting the new Government. James occupied his time in trying to arouse the Catholics on his behalf, and two letters of his at Windsor Castle, written to the Cardinal of Norfolk, describe the situation:—

St. Germains, 15*th January*, 1691.

Some days since I had yours of the 25th November, and do not doubt of your continuing to do your part in advancing my affairs, and if they had not had the success I had reason to expect, I am sure it was not for want of your soliciting them, of which Lord Melfort has given me an account. The Prince of Orange is making great preparations for the next campaign, and it is said by all the last letters from England he intends to head the confederate army in Flanders. He does all he can to advance the Protestant cause everywhere; why should not his Holiness do the like on his side? The King, my brother here, does what he can, but he alone cannot do all, having so many enemies to deal with. The Prince of Orange has sent arms into Savoy and Piedmont, and money is going into Switzerland from him. Why should not his Holiness spare me some to buy arms here, to begin a magazine, that for anything I know, I may have need of before the summer be over, and then I suppose he will be sorry I should want them.

James R.

St. Germains, 14*th February*, 1691.

I write also to Lord Melfort, and send him such credentials and instructions as will be necessary for him on such an occasion. I shall order him to give an account of his instructions that you may consult with him in endeavouring to get such a choice made as may be for the advantage of Holy Church and the good of Christendom, choosing such a one as may be for the effectual assisting me against the usurper, and doing his best to draw from him those Catholic princes who are in league with him to their own shame and to the

hazard of the Catholic religion, not only in all my dominions, but even in the rest of Europe. All the world sees the sad effects the Emperor's joining with the Prince of Orange has had in Hungary, and had not the King of Spain and Duke of Savoy done the same, in all probability before this I had been restored and the Catholic religion established as it was, in my time, in all my dominions. I should think that these considerations should make all where you are join with you in the choice of such a Pope as would bestir himself for the good of the Church. The most Christian King's concerns and mine are so united that all who wish me well must join with his share in the choice which is to be made, which I certainly recommend you to do, and that there may be a good understanding between you and the Cardinal d'Este for the good of my interests there, which I am sure you will continue to do, as you have always done, of which I am very sensible.

JAMES R.

James, in 1692, according to the Stuart Papers, had a Utopian scheme for invading England and reascending the throne after he had vanquished William. He declared he had no design of a conquest, and brought only such an army as he was desired by his subjects to bring; he was resolved to call a free Parliament; to establish the peace of the nation by its advice, and a thorough liberty of conscience by its authority; he would protect the Church established by law, and fill up all vacancies with the most deserving of its communion. If, after establishing the liberty of conscience, Parliament judged any further law necessary for the security of the Church, he would consent to these, and never dispense again with any laws relating to religion. As a proof of the future lenity of his reign, he offered a full pardon and indemnity to such of his subjects as after a certain day should declare for him: "Excepting . . . and such others of our subjects as Parliament shall think fit to except; by which we are resolved to be advised in this

matter, resolving not to follow the dictates of our own just resentment, but such measures and methods of law as they shall advise for the weal of our people; reserving always our undoubted right of pardoning even the worst offenders, if they shall deserve it." James summoned all his subjects to take arms and assist him by bringing the Prince and Princess of Orange and their abettors into his power, or by driving them out of the kingdom. He promised his protection to such strangers as declared for him; "but to those who shall remain obstinate against us we shall show the treatment due to invaders of a lawful king without declaring war under the command of one who, being a subject, had no power to declare it."

Nothing was more natural than that the supporters of James should fight hard before being extinguished. Even on their own showing, the success of their cause depended very much on the support of the French King. James sent an ambassador to Rome who succeeded in getting 20,000 crowns from the Pope. This latter movement culminated in the naval battle of La Hogue, when James was defeated.

Under date 28th December, 1693, Sir George Barclay wrote James:—"The Earl of Clarendon has commissioned me to tell you that at any time within three months your Majesty may make a descent with success, but your affairs will suffer by a longer delay, and it will be difficult to find again such an opportunity. The Earl of Lichfield says that he answers to your Majesty for the county of Oxford, as Lord Lindsay does for the county of Lincoln. There is no time to be lost; people in general are not willing to engage themselves in your cause, but in the hope that you will come soon. Sir John Fenwick and several others are of opinion that you may delay your coming too long, and can never come too soon. In their opinion, it is not proper to come with less than 30,000 men, a good train of artillery and some arms. Lord Breadalbane believes that Parliament will take the management of

the fleet, and that they will render it very formidable. He is of opinion that it is proper to send some troops to Scotland, and desires you to acquaint him if it is your wish that he should go there." Various communications of a similar nature followed from Jacobites in various parts of England. James, however, was unable to find the means of carrying out the scheme, and in February, 1694, issued the following instructions:— "You are to return our most hearty thanks to all the friends for their zeal and constancy in our service. The information they have supplied was at the request of the French King to inform him of the state of our kingdom, that if possible on the first opportunity he might endeavour to obtain our restoration. . . . The stopping of so many of the men of war designed for the Straits has left London in such a condition to fit out a squadron of ships equal to what he can arm, if not superior, besides what Holland can furnish, that it has put it out of his power at this time to attempt anything so considerable as the sending of 30,000 men out of his kingdom, and hazarding so considerable a part of his navy in the Channel, where he has no port to befriend him, and may be in danger of meeting a greater force. You shall let them know that this delay is a greater disappointment to us, and even to the French King, than it can be to them." We find recorded an extraordinary story of James's cruelty.

The fate of James Seton, the Protestant Earl of Dunfermline (fourth Earl), is another blot on the character of James, who seems to have thought that the strongest proof of kindness which he could give the heretics who had resigned wealth, country, and family for his sake, was to suffer them to be beset on their dying beds by his priests. If some sick man suffered a wafer to be thrust into his mouth a great work of grace was announced to the Court, and the patient buried with all the pomp of religion. But if a Royalist of the highest rank died professing attachment to the Protestant religion, a hole was dug in the fields, and at

dead of night he was flung into it and covered up like a mass of carrion. Such were the obsequies of the Earl of Dunfermline, who had served the House of Stuart at the hazard of his life and the ruin of his fortunes, who had fought at Killicrankie, and who had after the victory lifted from the earth the mortally wounded Claverhouse. While living he had been treated with contumely ; the bigots who ruled the Court of James refused Dunfermline the means of subsistence ; he died at St. Germains in 1694 of a broken heart, and they refused him even a grave.[1] This year the Earl of Middleton crossed the Channel and made his appearance at St. Germains. He was graciously received, and appointed Secretary of State jointly with Melfort. The friends of James in London informed him that his Declaration of April, 1692, was read with deep affliction by his supporters, that it had been printed and circulated by the usurpers, that it had done more than all the libels of the Whigs to inflame the nation against him, and that it was the cause of the defeat at La Hogue. All this did not seem to affect him, and it soon appeared that he was fully resolved never to resign the crown. He pleaded his conscience ; could a son of the Catholic Church bind him to protect and defend heresy, and enforce a law which excluded true believers from office ?

In 1696 there was a Jacobite plot for the assassination of the Prince of Orange, championed and instructed by the ex-King, James, and led by Sir George Barclay. There was to be a Jacobite insurrection, the removal of the Prince of Orange from the throne, and thereafter his assasssination. This dastardly plot, however, more fully described under William and Mary, fell through.

The ex-King was several years in exile before his death. Shortly before the close of his life he wrote the following farewell to his son :—" I am now leaving this world, which has been to me a sea of storms and tempests, it being the Almighty's will to wean me from it by many great afflictions. Serve Him with all your

[1] Macaulay.

power, and never put the crown of England in competition with your eternal salvation. There is no slavery like sin, and no liberty like His service. If His holy Providence shall think fit to seat you on the throne of your Royal ancestors, govern your people with justice and clemency. Remember kings are not made for themselves, but for the good of the people. Set before your eyes in your own actions a pattern of all manner of virtues; consider them as your children; you are the child of vows and prayers; behave yourself accordingly. Honour your mother that your days may be long, and be always a kind brother to your sister that you may reap the blessings of concord and unity." James's devotion to the Catholic religion remained unshaken till his death.

On Good Friday, 1701, James had a stroke of paralysis. While he was listening in his chapel to the solemn service of the day he fell down and remained long insensible, but afterwards recovered. On the 13th September he had a second attack, which was a final stroke. He received the last Sacrament with every mark of devotion. He declared that he had pardoned all his enemies, naming especially the Prince of Orange, the Princess of Denmark, and the Emperor. The French King was to the last most attentive to him; he would not allow his coach to enter the court lest the noise of the wheels should be heard in the sick-room. He paid a last visit shortly before the end; James scarcely opened his eyes, and closed them again. "I have something," said Louis, "of great moment to communicate to your Majesty; I come to tell you that whenever it shall please God to take you from us, I will be to your son what I have been to you, and will acknowledge him as King of England." The English exiles, who were standing round the couch, burst into tears. As soon as Louis returned to his Court he repeated the announcement, which was received with acclamation. James died on 17th September, aged sixty-eight years. "The moment after he had breathed

his last," says the Duke of Berwick, "we all went to the Prince of Wales and saluted him as King." He was at the same hour proclaimed at St. Germains by the title of James III., King of England, Scotland, Ireland and France. The Queen came to do homage to him, saying: "Sir, I acknowledge you for my King; but I hope that you will not forget that you are my son."

According to one account, James's body remained unburied for a century after Queen Anne's death. The circumstances formed the last extraordinary incidents in the history of the Stuarts. Lights were left burning round the hearse until the French Revolution; the Church of the Benedictines in the Faubourg St. Jacques was then desecrated, but when the Revolutionists opened the coffin they found the body entire and in perfect preservation; it was embalmed. The municipal authorities took possession of the hearse and body. For that long period the body was waiting interment in Westminster Abbey; it was in a wooden coffin enclosed in a leaden one, and that again in one covered with black velvet. When the allies came to Paris in 1813 the body still remained above ground. The matter was brought under the notice of George IV., who ordered the remains to be carried in funeral procession from Paris to St. Germains; the English in Paris, laying aside all religious differences, attended in deep mourning and with every mark of respect. A monument of white, grey and black marble was erected to his memory in the church of St. Germains, bearing a Latin inscription.[2] His body was interred in the parish church of St. Germains, his heart in the English College at St. Omer, and his head in the Scots College, Paris. In the chapel of the latter is a monument of black and white marble which bears an inscription.

We are informed, on the other hand,[3] that James desired in his will that he should be interred in the

[1] Strickland. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Jesse's Memoirs.

parish church; that he should be attended to the grave with only such ceremony as was usual at the interment of a country gentleman, and that a plain slab should be his only monument; the words, "Here lies King James," he requested, might be his only epitaph. These injunctions the French King took upon him to disobey. The remains were embalmed on the day of his death, and the interment was conducted with regal ceremony. His body was interred in the parish church of St. Germains. On digging the foundation of the new church of St. Germains the remains of King James, which were then discovered, were on the 9th September, 1824, on the completion of the edifice, reinterred under the altar. This account, it will be noticed, differs materially from the Strickland narrative.

Numerous and heinous as were the offences of this wrong-headed monarch, it must at least be admitted that if he was arbitrary, it was from principle; that if he was unrelenting, it was from policy; and that if he was intolerant, it was from conviction. If he was an unforgiving enemy, he was also a staunch friend. On the other hand, his excessive profligacy in regard to women; the misery which his senile infidelities occasioned a young, beautiful and devoted wife, as well as the important fact that they were practiced at the very time when he was displaying the most rampant and intemperate zeal in the cause of religion, certainly constitute very offensive features in his character. As regards his overweening bigotry, his flagrant abuse of power, and the gross oppression and intolerance for which he so deservedly forfeited his crown, little can be brought forward in his defence. The best that can be said of him is that he was a conscientious martyr to what he believed to be the truth; that he regarded the Protestant faith as the source of all sedition, heresy and rebellion; that he traced to his liberal principles the death of his father on the scaffold, and the misfortunes which had subsequently befallen his race; and that consequently, being

himself by conviction a Catholic, he looked upon a crusade against Protestantism not only as the last safeguard for his temporal interests, but as pointing out the secret path to heaven.[1]

In summing up the reign of James, we cannot but conclude that it is one of the most unsatisfactory on record. He and his brother may well be characterised as the weakest of the Stuart kings. The life of James before his accession, and after his abdication, is recorded in a very fragmentary form, but so far, it represents to us a man of a different complexion from James, the King. Before his accession, if we except his intrigues with women, his life appears to have been uneventful up to the time when he became practically Regent, three years before his own accession. On his acquisition of power, he evidently lost his head. Religious feeling at that time, and for long after, was full of bitterness. James, while coercing his subjects to become Catholics, regarded his own religion as immaculate, and those who took an opposite view were in his estimation nothing but heretics and rebels against the fundamental laws of the kingdom. Civil and religious liberty, liberty of conscience in any form, was unknown during his reign; anyone who questioned his authority or had an opinion of his own was, if discovered, punished with death. James, once in power, resolved to have a Privy Council composed of men of his own persuasion. In that he had no difficulty, and having got such a council, the first thing it did was to exempt him from taking the coronation oath to maintain the Protestant religion. To what extent the people were incensed against this proceeding is not clear, but we are informed there was "general dissatisfaction." It may be assumed that the Protestants looked on his conduct with abhorrence. The Earl of Argyll, who was a Protestant, was not afraid to speak his mind, and he refused to sign the test with this clause excluded; but he afterwards signed it with the qualification, "In as far as it is consistent with the Protestant

[1] Jesse's Memoirs.

religion." This was before James ascended the throne, and what was the result? The unfortunate Earl was arrested, tried and condemned for treason; but his sentence of death was postponed; he meanwhile escaped from prison, but was afterwards arrested and beheaded. This was one of the first acts of James, following on which we have a remarkable statement from Burnet, that James at this period issued the most tyrannical proclamations against Presbyterians, following them up with barbarous punishments and executions.

When James ascended the throne, he evidently resolved to rule as a dictator. His whole policy indicated that intention, while the outstanding events of his reign were administered in defence of Parliamentary authority. The kingdom had just come through twenty-five years of the misrule of Charles II., and probably Parliament and the nation, who were utterly exhausted with his government, were prepared to be indulgent to him till he had had a fair trial. Be that as it may, James stated to his Parliament that as King his authority was absolute; that he could do no wrong; that Parliament was subject to him, and had no power to limit or interfere with his prerogative any more than they could with that of the Deity. We are not informed what impression this arrogant speech made on the Scottish Parliament. At his proclamation he was effusive in his desire to maintain the national religion, but in a few days he changed his mind, and gave his whole sympathy to the Catholic Church. The Scottish Parliament of 28th April, 1685, was evidently dominated by him, for it ordained penal laws against the Presbyterians which enabled him to go on with his wholesale prosecutions against them, and to perpetrate the massacres which followed. His duplicity was shown at a meeting of the Scottish Estates the following year, when he agreed to dispense with penal laws as against Catholics.

The Argyll and Monmouth invasion, which took place in May, 1685, left a serious blemish on James's

character; nor is there anything to say on his behalf for the wholesale slaughters in connection with it which took place by his orders. His ordering and carrying out these, which involved the lives of thousands of people, no words can adequately condemn. They brand him as a man of a brutal and bloodthirsty nature. It was in connection with these that the Dunnottar outrage occurred, when 167 persons of both sexes were made to walk from Edinburgh to Dunnottar, with their hands tied behind their backs, and were thrust into the dungeon or black hole of that huge fortress, huddled together without light or ventilation, where, in addition to the revolting misery, many of the poor creatures died, being literally starved to death. It was an outrage surpassing the brutality of Cawnpore, fit only to be perpetrated by the savages of Nigeria. The culminating event in his reign was his connection with Jefferies, whom, to his disgrace, he appointed Lord Chancellor, as a reward for his wholesale sentences of death. In English history there is nothing to compare with the brutality of Jefferies' actions; or, as Lord Chancellor Campbell puts it, it was such as no words can adequately condemn; nor will the actual number of his executions ever be known. That James was the instigator and Jefferies the tool in the perpetration of these outrages, there is too much reason to believe. Jefferies said so on his deathbed in the Tower, and the circumstances of the period all point to that conclusion. James's place is evidently on the platform of Nero and Diocletian, and there he is in congenial company. We cannot wonder that such a tyrant was chased from the throne, and that he collapsed never to rise again. The troubles of his reign were of his own making: had he allowed his subjects the free exercise of their religion, he might have administered the crown till his death, and then placed his son on the throne. As it turned out, his life after his abdication and after the battle of the Boyne was that of a man in the cloister, paying penance

for his misdeeds, posing before the world as a recluse, albeit a pious and quasi-philanthropic gentleman.[1]

James, by his first wife, Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, had ten children, viz.:

Charles, Duke of Cambridge, born 22nd October, 1660; died 5th May, 1661.
Mary, afterwards Queen of England, born 1662; died 1694.
James, Duke of Cambridge, born 1663; died in infancy.
The Dukes of Kendal and Cambridge, twins, born 1664; died in 1667.
Anne, afterwards Queen of England, born 1665; died 1714.
A son born 1666; died young.
Edgar, Duke of Cambridge, born 1667; died 1671.
Henrietta, born 1669, and Catherine, born 1671; both died in infancy.

By Mary of Modena, second wife: six children, viz.:

Charles, Duke of Cambridge, born 1667; died same year.
Catherine Laura, born 1675, and Isabella, born 1676; both died in infancy.
Charlotte Maria, born 1682; died same year.
James Francis Edward, the Pretender, born 1688.
Maria Louisa Theresa, born 1692; died 1712.

His natural children were—By Catherine Sedley:

Catherine Darnley, married the third Earl of Anglesea; and secondly, John, Duke of Buckingham.

By Arabella Churchill, sister of Marlborough:

James, Duke of Berwick.
Henry FitzJames, the Grand Prior.
Henrietta, married to Sir Henry Waldegrave.
A daughter, who died a nun.

[1] The day before his death, like other illustrious sufferers, he composed his own epitaph, in which, after referring to his misfortunes, he expressed the hope that another hand than his would yet accomplish his country's deliverance.

CHAPTER X.

Early life and marriage of William and Mary—Invitation to William to accept Crown—Declaration by William—Acceptance of invitation—Farewell to Holland—King James and the Petitioners — Arrival of William — Official Entry and Reception ; Exeter—King James, Sancroft and the Bishops—Princess Anne makes her escape—James, the Clergy and the Nobles — William and his troops at Hungerford—Escape of James — Proceeds to Rochester and France—Throne declared vacant—Parliament puts William and Mary on Throne—Scheme of Reforms—William calls meeting of Estates—Arrival of the Princess Mary—Lords and Commons offer the Crown—William and Mary proclaimed—Acquisition of Kensington Palace — Despatch, William to Estates of Scotland—Meeting of Estates at Edinburgh—Claverhouse and Balcarres—The Coronation at Westminster—Text of the Coronation Oath—Proclamation by Scottish Parliament and William and Mary—William and Mary proclaimed at Edinburgh — Formation of Cameronion Regiment — Letter, Claverhouse to Melfort.

REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

A.D. 1688—1702.

WE now arrive at a great landmark in the history of the House of Stuart—that golden period which ushered in the dawn of civil and religious liberty ; broke in pieces the tyrant's rule ; abolished immorality and vice, which had long disgraced the Court ; substituted the Protestant for the Catholic faith as the national religion ; and placed on the throne a ruler whose administrative qualities were destined to have an important bearing on the future history of the kingdom. The two previous reigns had discredited the governing record of the Stuarts. Neither before nor since have we had such an exhibition of corrupt

WILLIAM III.

King of Scotland.

Prince of Orange. (William and Mary.)
King of Scotland.

(From a Portrait in the Collection of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey.

rule. When the two brothers laid down the sceptre, the kingdom was practically reduced to the last extremity; its exchequer empty; its trade and commerce paralysed; its gaols full of innocent subjects persecuted for their religion; the lieges executed in an indiscriminate and illegal manner, frequently without trial; and the realm in a state of complete anarchy. The conduct of James had been for some time matter of serious consideration by the leading statesmen and nobles in England and Scotland, and it was resolved that, whatever the consequences, William, Prince of Orange, should be called over to occupy the throne.

William, born in 1650, was the only child of William, second Prince of Orange, and Mary, daughter of Charles I. His father and mother were betrothed when they were young, his mother being then only ten years old; his father died in 1650, and his mother in 1660. His wife, the Princess Mary, daughter of James, was born in 1662; William and Mary were therefore cousins, and both were grandchildren of Charles I. Mary and Anne, by their father's command, were educated Protestants. Nature had largely endowed William with the qualities of a great ruler, and education had developed those qualities in a high degree. He found himself, when once his mind began to open, the chief of a great party in Holland and the heir to vast possessions. At the age of eighteen he was a member and sat amongst the fathers of the Dutch Commonwealth, taking his part in debate; at the age of twenty-one he was placed at the head of the administration as Stadtholder or Governor of Holland, and at the age of twenty-eight he became known throughout Europe as a soldier and politician; his tastes unquestionably indicated a military life. This, then, was the man who was invited to come over and accept the crown of England. He was highly fortunate in the selection of a wife.

His marriage with the Princess Mary took place on

4th November, O.S., 1677. There were collected in the Princess's bedchamber at nine o'clock evening, to witness or assist at the ceremony:—King Charles II. and his Queen, the Duke of York and his young Duchess, Mary of Modena—these, with the bride and bridegroom, and Compton, bishop of London, who officiated, were all the great personages who were present, the marriage being strictly private. The official attendants of these distinguished persons were admitted, forming altogether a group sufficiently large for nuptials in a bedchamber, and more than was wished by the bride. This was not a marriage of love, but of public policy, and Mary is said to have wept for two days before the ceremony. King Charles gave her away. In answer to the question: "Who gives this woman?" "I do," exclaimed the King. When the Prince of Orange endowed his bride with all his worldly goods, he placed a handful of gold and silver coins on the open book. The King said to his niece: "Gather it up and put it all in your pocket, for it is all clear gain." After the ceremony was concluded the bride and the Royal family received the congratulations of the Court, and of the foreign ambassadors.

The Princess Mary was in person a real Stuart—tall, slender and graceful, with a clear complexion, almond-shaped dark eyes, dark hair and an elegant outline of features. The Princess Anne resembled the Hydes, and had the round face and full form of her mother and the Chancellor Clarendon, her hair a dark chestnut brown, her complexion ruddy, her face round and comely, her features strong and regular. She had a good ear for music, and performed well on the guitar. She never willingly opened a book, but was early proficient at cards and gossiping.[1]

On 23rd November the Prince and Princess crossed the country to Canterbury, and when they arrived there they found themselves in a destitute condition for want of cash, as they had been unkindly and

[1] Strickland.

secretly hurried out of London by King Charles and the Duke of York from jealousy lest the Lord Mayor should invite them to a banquet. The Prince sent his companion, Bentinck, to the Corporation of Canterbury to request the loan of money, but the request was refused. The Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Tillotson, hearing of this gathered together all the plate and ready money he had, and bringing them to the inn where the Royal couple were, presented them to Bentinck, and desiring them during their visit at Canterbury to stay at the Deanery. The Dean's gift was gratefully accepted, but the Prince would not leave the inn. They stayed four days there, and received the congratulations of the nobility and gentry of Kent. The Princess Mary was accompanied by Mary, Elizabeth and Anne Villiers: Lady Villiers, the governess of the Princess, having died shortly before of smallpox. In due course the Royal party arrived in Holland. On the 14th December the Prince and Princess made their official entry into The Hague surrounded with every magnificence, and twelve companies of burghers. Having passed the bridge they were met by four-and-twenty virgins, who walked two and two on each side of the Royal carriage, singing and strewing green herbs all the way, after which they passed under various triumphal arches. In the evening the Princess Mary was welcomed with a display of fireworks, in which were represented St. George on horseback, fountains, pyramids, triumphal chariots, Jupiter and Mars descending from the skies, etc.

The Princess parted unexpectedly from her husband on 1st March, 1678. He had been hunting all the morning, and on his way home he received letters that occasioned his sudden departure of which the Princess had no intimation. It was the siege of Namur that caused his departure. She accompanied her husband as far as Rotterdam, the Prince being in high spirits and good humour. The Princess chose to make the tour of her watery dominions by way of the canals in her barge,

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when she amused herself with needlework, or playing at cards with her ladies, as they sailed over the lakes.

His early married life is said not to have been very happy, but we have no evidence of that; and it is further said he was gradually drawn away from his wife by one of her ladies, Elizabeth Villiers, the eldest of six daughters of Sir Edward and Lady Villiers. This lady, though destitute of personal attractions, possessed considerable mental talents which attracted his notice. Her influence over him, says Macaulay, she owed to her mental powers, which qualified her to guide the counsels of statesmen. To the end of her life politicians sought her advice.

In spite of his precautions the Princess Mary knew of this intimacy, but no imputation of immorality is recorded. In Swift's Journal to Stella there is an entry that William settled on this lady estates in Ireland yielding £26,000 per annum, but the statement, which seems improbable, requires confirmation. After William's death the lady married Lord George Hamilton, brother of the Duke, and he became Earl of Orkney. The Princess Mary had been nine years married before she discovered the cause of William's coldness or discontent. An *entente cordiale* was brought about by the mediation of Burnet, a mutual friend. Mary learned for the first time that when she became Queen, William would not share her throne; she warmly declared to Burnet that there was no proof of language, submission and affection which she was not ready to give. Burnet informed her that the remedy was in her own hands; she might easily, when the crown devolved on her, induce Parliament not only to give the regal title to her husband, but even to transfer to him by a legislative act the administration of the Government; "but your Royal Highness ought to consider well before you announce any such resolution, because once announced it cannot be retracted." "I want no time for consideration," answered Mary. "It is enough that I have an

opportunity of showing my regard for the Prince; tell him what I say, and bring him to me that he may hear it from my own lips." The interview took place the following day. "I did not know till yesterday," said Mary, "that there was such a difference between the laws of England and the laws of God; but I now promise you that you shall always bear rule; and in return I ask only this, that as I shall observe the precept which enjoins wives to obey their husbands, ye will observe that which enjoins husbands to love their wives." This speech gained the heart of William; from that day to her death there was entire confidence between them.

In 1686 William became head of a league formed among Protestant princes of Germany, having for its object to curb the power of the French King, Louis XIV. This treaty was signed at Augsburg in July of that year. In his wars with France, William was frequently defeated, and this led to a treaty of peace being signed at Ryswick on 10th September, 1697.

When Parliament and the nation were exhausted in the exercise of forbearance at the tyrannical rule of James, and his dethronement had forced itself upon them, a formal invitation to the Prince of Orange was after much consultation deliberately and judiciously prepared. It was afterwards transcribed by Henry Sidney, who became Earl of Romney, and was on 30th June, 1688, sent to The Hague.

The invitation was signed in cypher by Shrewsbury, Devonshire, Danby, Lumley, Compton, Russell, and Sidney. Admiral Herbert undertook to be messenger. He assumed the dress of a common sailor, and in this disguise reached the Dutch Court in safety. Some days were passed with William in deliberation. From his wife he had no opposition to the acceptance of the invitation. To her father she had probably never been attached. She had quitted him young. Many years had elapsed since she had seen him; and no part of his conduct to her since her marriage had indicated

tenderness on his part, or had been calculated to call forth tenderness on hers. He had done all in his power to disturb her domestic happiness, and had established a system of spies under her roof. He had a larger income than any of his predecessors, and allowed her sister £12,000 a year. She had ventured to intercede with him on behalf of her old friend and preceptor, Henry Compton, bishop of London, who had been suspended from office, but she got an ungracious refusal. From the day on which it had become clear that she and her husband were determined not to be parties to the subversion of the Constitution, James's object had been to injure both. To a very small circle of friends, on whose fidelity he could depend, William was a different man from the reserved individual whom the multitude supposed to be destitute of common feeling. He was kind, even convivial, among his companions, would sit at table many hours and take his full share of festive conversation. Highest in his favour stood William Bentinck (ancestor of the Dukes of Portland). Bentinck faithfully attended him during his malignant attack of smallpox. From the hands of Bentinck alone would he take food or medicine during that memorable sixteen days illness. By Bentinck alone was he lifted from his bed and laid down. In response to the invitation to administer the crown of England, he at last issued a declaration. It announced that in every community the strict observance of law was necessary for the happiness of the nation and the security of the Crown. He had seen with deep concern that the fundamental laws of a kingdom, with which he was by blood and marriage closely connected, had by the advice of evil counsellors been grossly violated. The power of dispensing with acts of Parliament had been strained to such a point that the whole legislative authority had been transferred to the Crown. Decisions at variance with the spirit of the Constitution had been obtained from the tribunals by turning out judge after judge, till the bench had been filled with men ready to obey

implicitly the directions of the Govenment. Notwithstanding James's repeated assurances that he would maintain the established religion, persons hostile to that religion had been promoted not only to civil offences, but to ecclesiastical benefices.

The government of the Church had in defiance of express statutes been entrusted to a new court of high commission, and in that court one avowed Catholic had a seat; good subjects, for refusing to violate their duty and their oath, had been ejected from their property in defiance of the Great Charter of the liberties of England; lieutenants, deputy-lieutenants, justices of the peace, had been dismissed for refusing to support a pernicious and unconstitutional policy; the courts of justice were in such a state that their decisions, even in civil matters, had ceased to inspire confidence, and their servility in criminal cases had brought on the kingdom the stain of innocent blood. All these abuses were defended by the Catholics. The most arbitrary princes had never accounted it an offence in a subject modestly and peaceably to represent his grievances and to ask for relief. Supplication was now treated as a high misdemeanour in England; for no crime but that of offering to the sovereign a petition, drawn up in the most respectful terms, the fathers of the Church had been imprisoned and prosecuted, and every judge who had given his voice in their favour had instantly been turned out of office. A free Parliament ought to be an effectual remedy for these evils, but such a Parliament, unless the spirit of the administration were changed, the nation could not hope to see. It was evidently the intention of the Court to bring together, by means of regulated corporations and of Catholic returning officers, a body which would be a House of Commons in name only. For these reasons the Prince, mindful of his near relation to the Royal House, and grateful for the affection which the English people had ever shown to his wife and himself, had resolved, in compliance with the request of many lords, spiritual and temporal, and

of many other persons of all ranks, to go over to England at the head of a force sufficient to repel violence. While his troops remained in England they should be kept under the strictest discipline, and as soon as the nation had been delivered from tyranny they should be sent back; his single object was to have a free and legal Parliament assembled, and to the decision of such a Parliament he solemnly pledged himself to leave all questions, both public and private. This courageous response to the invitation gave great satisfaction to all except the Catholics.

On 16th October, 1688, the States of Holland met; the Prince came to bid them farewell. He thanked them for the kindness with which they had watched over him when he was left an orphan child, for the confidence which they had reposed in him during his administration, and for the assistance which they had granted him at this momentous crisis. He entreated them to believe that he had always met and endeavoured to promote the interest of his country; he was now quitting them, perhaps never to return; if he should fail in defence of the reformed religion he commended his beloved wife to their care. In all that grave senate everyone was overcome. The iron stoicism of William never gave way; he stood among his friends calm and resolute, as if he had been about to leave them only for a short time.[1] The same evening he embarked for England, had a stormy passage, and put back for safety.

His declaration, which preceded him, created profound sensation; it was printed and circulated over London. James was much troubled, and threw into the fire every copy he could lay his hands on save one. The paragraph which disturbed him most was that some of the peers had invited William to come over to England. Lords Halifax, Clarendon and Nottingham were summoned to the palace and catechised, but denied all knowledge of it. Henry Compton, bishop of London, was next summoned; he was one of the seven bishops who signed the

[1] Burnet, vol. i., p. 782, Register of Proceedings, States of Holland.

invitation, and when questioned by the King, his answer was: "Sir, I am quite confident that there is not one of my brethren who is not as guiltless as myself in this matter." The King was satisfied, and said: "I fully acquit you all." On the following day appeared a proclamation threatening with the severest punishment all who should circulate, or even dare to read, William's manifesto.

The Prince, on 1st November, set sail for England the second time, and duly arrived. His fleet comprised 50 men-of-war and 300 smaller vessels following in his train. It was commanded by Admiral Herbert, a distinguished officer, who the previous year was deprived of all his appointments in England by James, because he refused to vote for the repeal of the Test Act. The Prince's troops at once commenced their march northwards, and on 8th November arrived at Exeter. The Mayor and aldermen had ordered the gates to be closed, but yielded on the first summons. There was great excitement and rejoicings on his official entry. All the neighbouring towns and villages sent forth their inhabitants. The houses were gaily decorated, and thronged with spectators. First rode the Earl of Macclesfield at the head of 200 gentlemen glittering in helmets and cuirasses, and mounted on Flemish war-horses, each attended by a negro brought from the sugar plantations of Guiana, wearing embroidered turbans and white feathers; then with drawn swords came a squadron of Swedish horsemen in black armour and fur cloaks. They were regarded with a strange interest, for it was said they were natives of a land where the ocean was frozen, and where the night lasted throughout half the year, and that they had themselves slain the huge bears whose skins they wore.[1] Next, surrounded by a goodly company, was borne the Prince's banner, on which were the words: "The Protestant religion and the liberties of England"; then, preceded by forty running footmen, the Prince himself appeared, armed on

[1] Macaulay.

back and breast, wearing a white plume, and mounted on a white charger, his martial air, his thoughtful and commanding expression, his falcon eye being conspicuous. Near him was Count Schomberg, the first soldier in Europe, a man with a distinguished reputation; then came a company of Swiss soldiers, men noted in the Continental wars for valour and discipline. After them came a succession of bands; nor did the wonder of the people diminish when the artillery arrived, twenty-one huge pieces of brass cannon, each drawn by sixteen horses. Much curiosity was excited by a strange structure mounted on wheels; it was a movable smithy furnished with all tools and materials necessary for repairing arms and carriages. But nothing raised so much admiration as the bridge of boats, which was speedily laid on the river for the conveyance of waggons and as speedily carried away. The most rigid discipline was maintained among the troops, and in return the people furnished them with provisions in abundance, at reasonable prices. Such was this notable official visit to Exeter. William repaired in military state to the cathedral of Exeter, and mounted the bishop's seat, a stately throne, rich with the carving of the fifteenth century; a crowd of nobles and warriors appeared on the right and left hand, while the choir sang the *Te Deum*. When it was over, Burnet, a preacher at the Rolls Chapel, but who went over to Holland to the Court of William and Mary and returned to England, read William's declaration. At the close he exclaimed: "God save the Prince of Orange!" and many voices responded "Amen." On Sunday, 11th November, Burnet preached before William in the cathedral. While these things were going on at Exeter there was great excitement in London; William's declaration was in everybody's hands.

William established his Court for a short time at Exeter; more than sixty men of rank were with him, and the daily display of red liveries, and coaches drawn by six horses, made the quiet, old-fashioned town of

Exeter as gay as Whitehall. In addressing the nobility who came to his standard, he said: "We bid you and all your followers heartily welcome to our Court and camp." He left Exeter on 21st November, and went to Axminster, where he remained some days. From there he went to Wincanton, where he had a skirmish with James's troops. From Salisbury James proceeded to Andover attended by his son-in-law, Prince George of Denmark, as also the Duke of Ormond. Here these two companions deserted him, and he returned to London. The Princess Anne notified on 18th November to William that she approved of his enterprise, and that she would remain in the palace or take refuge in the city as might be determined by her friends.[1]

There was great consternation at Whitehall when it was known that the Princess Anne had fled. On the following day James convened an assembly of nine clerics and thirty or forty nobles in order to get their advice. They advised him to grant pardons, and do everything to conciliate the people and regain their confidence. James's despotic nature never forsook him, and he refused this salutary advice and adjourned the meeting, saying: "My lords, you have used great freedom; I do not take it ill; I shall call a Parliament." No Parliament, however, was called; meantime William and his troops arrived at Hungerford, near London. Here a skirmish occurred between the troops of both sides, those of James being defeated. James, on 8th December, sent commissioners to Hungerford to propose that the matter be referred to Parliament. Instead of this William drafted what he considered reasonable terms, and a meeting took place at Hungerford Inn to discuss the same, presided over by the Earl of Oxford. James's proposal was rejected. Next day, Sunday, his commissioners dined with those of William at Littlecote Hall, near London, and a large company were invited to meet them. Lord Halifax, in the course of conversation, suggested that James might go away, to which

[1] Dalrymple.

Burnet replied: "There's nothing so much to be desired." As a matter of fact they were all desirous that James should make his escape. Immediately after this meeting the Queen and the Prince of Wales were sent to France for safety.

On Monday, 17th December, the peers who were at Windsor were summoned by William to a consultation as to what should be done with the ex-King. Their opinion was that he should make his escape. Next day the Royal barge was early at Whitehall stairs, and round it eight or ten boats filled with Dutch soldiers. Several noblemen attended James to the waterside, where he embarked and went to Rochester. Same day William arrived in London, and great multitudes assembled to welcome him. He had no taste for crowds, and it is recorded he took the road through the park. In a short time all the rooms and staircases in the palace were crowded with spectators. On the following day the Lord Mayor and Corporation went in state to see him, the Recorder expressing the gratitude of the Corporation for their deliverance. Then came the bishops and clergy (excepting Sancroft) after them, nonconformists, clergy and barristers. Some of William's friends advised him to assume the crown at once, as his right by conquest, but he declined to depart from the terms of his declaration; in this he showed his sound judgment. On 22nd December James left Rochester and sailed for France, where he arrived in due course, and joined the Queen at St. Germains. This was an immense relief to the Governments of both England and Scotland. The French King informed the Royal couple that so long as they stayed in France £45,000 per annum would be given them from the Treasury.

In Scotland the people were up in arms, the arrival of William having given them great satisfaction. There the religious question was as usual uppermost. The Privy Council, by one proclamation, ordained all Catholics to be disarmed, and by another Protestants to

muster for the defence of pure religion. The latter obeyed the summons. In London the Houses of Parliament had various debates as to whether they should adopt the Primate's proposal and appoint a Regent, or whether they should declare the throne vacant and appoint William and Mary, King and Queen. The latter proposal was adopted. Burnet intimated that it had long been the Princess Mary's full determination, if she came to the throne, to surrender her power, with the sanction of Parliament, into the hands of her husband. The Earl of Danby, afterwards Duke of Leeds, received a letter from her informing him that as she was the Prince's wife she had no other wish than to be subject to him; the most cruel thing that could be done her would be to set her up as his competitor; and she never could regard any person who took such a course as her true friend.[1] The Prince sent for some of the Lords in order to declare to them his views on the crisis which now faced them. In the matter of the regency it was, he said, for the Houses to determine whether such an arrangement would be for the interest of the nation. He thought it right to say that he would not be Regent. Another party was for placing the Princess on the throne and giving him during her life the title of King and such a share of administration as she would be pleased to allow him. He could not stoop to such a post. He esteemed the Princess as much as it was possible for man to esteem woman; but not even from her would he accept a subordinate and a precarious place in the Government. He was so made that he could not submit to be tied to the apron-strings even of the best of wives; he did not desire to take any part in English affairs; but if he did, there was one part only which he could usefully or honourably take. If the Estates offered him the crown for life, he would accept it, if not, he should without repining return to his native country. He thought it reasonable that the Lady Anne and her posterity should be preferred in the

[1] Burnet, vol. i., p. 819.

succession to any children whom he might have by any other wife than the Princess Mary. This temperate speech pleased everyone. It was therefore proposed and carried in Parliament without a division that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen of England. This was the Parliament of 28th January, 1689, when Somers, the Lord Chancellor, carried the following motion:—That King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the Constitution by breaking the original contract between King and people, and by the advice of Jesuits and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental laws of the realm, and having withdrawn himself out of the kingdom, has abdicated the Government, and the throne is thereby become vacant.

Parliament having agreed to the accession of William and Mary, drew up an elaborate scheme of reforms for the administration of the kingdom, so as to prevent a repetition of what occurred in the late reign; but the House of Commons resolved to postpone these till the ancient Constitution of the kingdom should be restored: and forthwith proceeded to fill the throne without imposing on the sovereigns any other obligation than that of governing according to the existing laws. A Declaration of Right was then drawn up by a committee under Somers, and agreed to. It was the basis on which the crown was tendered to, and accepted by, William and Mary. It recapitulated the crimes and errors which had made a revolution necessary. James had invaded the province of the Legislature, had treated modest petitioning as a crime, had oppressed the Church by means of an illegal tribunal, had without the consent of Parliament levied taxes and maintained a standing army in the time of peace, had violated the freedom of election and perverted the course of justice. Proceedings, which could be lawfully questioned only in Parliament, had been made the subject of prosecution in the King's Bench; partial and corrupt juries had been returned, excessive bail had been required from

prisoners, excessive fines had been imposed, barbarous and unusual punishments had been inflicted, and the estates of accused persons had been granted away before conviction. He by whose authority these things had been done had abdicated the crown. The Prince of Orange, whom God had made the glorious instrument of delivering the nation from tyranny, had invited the Estates of the realm to meet and take counsel together for the securing of religion, law and freedom. The Lords and Commons having deliberated, resolved that they would first, after the example of their ancestors, assert the ancient rights and liberties of England. Therefore it was declared that the dispensing power lately assumed and exercised had no legal existence, that without consent of Parliament no money could be exacted by the sovereign from the subject, that without consent of Parliament no standing army could be kept up in time of peace. The right of subjects to petition, the right of the electors to choose representatives freely, the right of Parliaments to freedom of debate, the right of the nation to a pure administration of justice according to the spirit of its laws, were solemnly affirmed. These things were claimed on behalf of the nation as the undoubted inheritance of Englishmen. Having thus vindicated the principles of the Constitution, the Lords and Commons, in the entire confidence that the deliverer would hold sacred the laws and liberties which he had saved, resolved that William and Mary should be declared King and Queen of England for their joint and separate lives, and that the administration of the Government should be in the Prince alone.

The Princess Mary arrived at Greenwich from The Hague on 12th February, 1689. She was received with joy and affection, and entered Whitehall with a girlish delight at being mistress of so fine a house, ran about the rooms, and examined the quilt of the state bed without seeming to remember by whom these apartments had been last occupied. William had entreated her to make her appearance with an air of cheerfulness.

Her heart, she said, was far indeed from cheerful, but she had done her best—nor did the world know till she was beyond the reach of praise and censure that her conduct was really a signal instance of that disinterestedness and self-devotion of which man seems to be incapable, but which is sometimes found in woman.[1] On the morning of the 13th February the court of Whitehall and neighbouring streets were filled with spectators. The walls were lined with the yeomen of the guard: a large number of peers and members of both Houses had assembled. The southern door opened, and William and Mary, side by side, entered and took their place under the canopy of State. Halifax, Speaker of the House of Lords, and Powle, Speaker of the Commons, stood forth. Halifax spoke, and in name of the Estates of the realm, requested William and Mary to accept the crown. William answered that the crown was, in their estimation, the more valuable because it was presented to them as a token of the confidence of the nation. He assured them that the laws of England, which he had once already vindicated, should be the rule of his conduct, that it should be his study to promote the welfare of the kingdom, and that, as to the means of doing so, he should take the advice of Parliament, and trust their judgment rather than his own. The Lords and Commons then walked to Whitehall, where the heralds were in waiting. The trumpets pealed, and the Garter King-at-arms, in a loud voice, proclaimed William and Mary King and Queen of England, and besought God, who had wrought so signal a deliverance of the Church and nation, to bless them with a long and happy reign. Garter King-at-arms, after making proclamation, rode along the Strand to Temple Bar; he was followed by the Speakers of both Houses, and by a long train of coaches filled with noblemen and gentlemen. The Lord Mayor and aldermen of the city joined the procession; four regiments of militia lined the way up Ludgate Hill

[1] Duchess of Marlborough's Vindication.

and Cheapside; streets, balconies and housetops were filled with spectators. The proclamation was repeated at the Royal Exchange. In the evening every window from Whitechapel to Piccadilly was lighted up; the state rooms of the palace thrown open and filled by courtiers desirous to kiss the hands of the King and Queen. The example of London was followed by the provincial towns.

William having made his ministerial appointments, and the oath of allegiance having been taken, the House of Commons granted £600,000 for the purpose of repaying Holland the charges of the expedition under William that had delivered England. It has been said that William was better qualified to save a nation than to adorn a Court. Social qualities William did not cultivate. When he appeared in the public rooms of his palace he stood among the ladies and courtiers, stern and abstracted, making no jest and smiling at none. His cold look, his silence, his dry and precise answers, displeased the noblemen and gentlemen, while the ladies missed the homage due to their sex. They were amused and shocked to see him when the Princess Anne dined with him, and when the first green peas of the season were put on the table, devour the whole dish without offering any to the Princess; and they declared that this great soldier and politician was no better than a low Dutch bear.[1] The Princess Mary did her best to supply what was wanting, and was well qualified to be the head of the Court. Her face was handsome, her temper sweet and lovely, her manners affable and graceful, her understanding, though imperfectly cultivated, was quick. There was no want of feminine wit and shrewdness in her conversation. She took much pleasure in the lighter class of literature, and aided materially in bringing books into fashion among ladies of quality. The stainless purity of her life, and the strict attention which she paid to her religious duties, put a stop to the licentiousness of

[1] Burnet, vol. ii., p. 2; Duchess of Marlborough's Vindication.

the Court, and restored it to its former purity. She was free from censoriousness, and discouraged it as much as vice. So amiable was her conduct that she was always spoken of with esteem and tenderness, even by those who refused to acknowledge her as Queen.[1] William was subject to attacks of asthma, and on his account the Court was removed from Whitehall to Hampton Court. After some time it was found that Hampton Court was too far away, and Kensington Palace was chosen as the seat of the Court. It belonged to the Earl of Nottingham, and was purchased for 18,000 guineas.

The English Parliament had no sooner concluded its sittings than William called a meeting of the Scottish Parliament at Edinburgh on 14th March, 1689, and sent a despatch in the following terms to the Scottish burghs to send commissioners :—

Whereas the Lords, and representatives of the kingdom of Scotland, met at Whitehall at our desire to advise what is to be done for securing the Protestant religion, and restoring the laws and liberties of that kingdom. According to our declaration we have, for the attaining of these ends, called a meeting of the Estates to be held at Edinburgh in March next. Being desirous to do everything that may tend to the public good and happiness of that kingdom, we have fixed the meeting for 14th March. We do therefore require you to make intimation of the same on the first mercat day at the Cross of the Royal burgh of Perth in the usual manner; and to appoint a day at least five days after the said intimation for the whole burgesses to meet and choose their commissioners for this meeting of the Estates. A copy of this letter, and of your intimation containing date of election, to be affixed on the Mercat Cross.

Given at St. James, 5th February, 1689,

Sic subscribitur, WILLIAM OF ORANGE.

[1] Burnet.

Under date, 7th March, William addressed the Estates of Scotland :—

We are very sensible of the kindness and concern that many of you have evinced towards us and our undertaking for the preservation of religion and liberty which were in such imminent danger ; neither can we in the least doubt of your confidence in us, after having seen how far so many of your nobility have owned our declaration, concurring with us in our endeavours, and desiring that we should take upon us the administration of affairs, civil and military ; and to call a meeting of the Estates for securing the Protestant religion, the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom, which accordingly we have done. Now it lies on you to enter on such consultations as are probable to settle you on a sure and lasting foundation ; which we hope you will set about with all convenient speed as regards the public good and the general interest and inclinations of the people. That after so much trouble and great suffering they may live happily and in peace ; and that you may lay aside all animosities and factions that may impede so good a work. We were glad to find that so many of the nobility when in London were so much inclined to a union of both kingdoms, and that they looked on it as one of the best means of procuring the happiness of these nations, and settling a lasting peace among them advantageous to both. They living in the same island, having the same language, and the same common interest of religion and liberty, especially at this juncture when the enemies of both are so restless, endeavouring to make and increase jealousies and divisions, which they will be ready to improve to their own advantage and the ruin of Britain. We being of the same opinion as to the usefulness of this union, and having nothing so much before us as the glory of God, the establishing of the reformed religion, and the peace and happiness of these nations, are resolved to use our utmost endeavours in advancing everything which may

conduce to effecting the same, so we bid you heartily farewell.

From our Court at Hampton, 7th March, 1689.

WILLIAM R.

William was bent on effecting great reforms in Church matters. The first move was to obtain for dissenters permission to celebrate their worship in freedom and security; the second was to make such changes in the Anglican ritual and polity as might conciliate the moderate Nonconformists; the third was to throw open civil offices to Protestants without distinction of sect. The first of these only was at that time practicable. The Toleration Act was framed and passed both Houses; it was long considered the Great Charter of religious liberty. It did not repeal previous statutes, but merely provided that they should not extend to any person who should take the oaths of allegiance, supremacy and Protestantism. Parliament resolved that every person who held any civil or military office should be ejected from it, unless he took the oath; no person at any future time to be admitted to office without doing so. If the clergy in their public ministrations omitted to pray for William and Mary, and for the Parliamant assembled under them, the penal clauses of the Act of Uniformity to be put in force, and such persons deprived of office. In the midst of these proceedings, William pointed out that the form of Church government to be adopted was a question of mere expediency. This statement was received in Scotland with much satisfaction.

The person by whose advice William appears to have been chiefly guided on Scottish politics, was Sir James Dalrymple of Stair, founder of that eminent family, and president of the Court of Session.[1] Sir James estab-

[1] Stair's wife was nicknamed the Witch of Endor. It was said she had cast spells on those whom she disliked, and that she had once been seen in the likeness of a cat, seated on the cloth of State by the side of the Lord High Commissioner. This is a pure fable.

lished himself in London for the purpose of giving advice to William on Scottish questions. When James fled from Whitehall, Claverhouse, it is said, wept with grief and rage, his troops being left without pay or provisions in England.[1] Claverhouse and Balcarres were treacherous enough to be among the crowd to congratulate William on his arrival at Whitehall; and Lady Balcarres, who had been a lady of the House of Orange, had worn on her wedding day a superb pair of emerald earrings, the gift of her cousin the Prince.[2] Balcarres had several audiences of William, professed deep respect for him, and owned that James had committed great errors, but would not promise to concur in a vote of deposition. William at parting said: "Take care, my lord, that you keep within the law, for if you break it, you must be left to it."[3] Claverhouse was permitted to return to Scotland, escorted by a troop of cavalry.

On 14th March the Estates met in Edinburgh in terms of William's proclamation. The first question that arose was the election of a president, and the choice lay between the Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Atholl. On the vote being taken, Hamilton was elected by a majority of forty; he was supported by the Whigs, Atholl by the Jacobites or Tories. Macaulay makes the astounding statement that the Scotsmen of that generation who made a figure in the Parliament House were "the most dishonest and unblushing time-servers that the world has ever seen." He might have included King James, who was probably the cause of it all. There were four men in Scotland at this date who were in danger of being assassinated by the Covenanters. These were Graham of Claverhouse, Lord Balcarres, Sir George Mackenzie (the bloody Mackenzie), and John Murray, first Marquis of Atholl. These four men were tools of James in carrying out his illegal and merciless edicts. They appealed to this Convention for protection, but the

[1] Mackay's Memoirs. [2] Memoirs of the Lindsays. [3] *Ibid.*

request was refused. Claverhouse said two of his enemies were watching his house in the Canongate, and had been heard to say that "they would use the dog as he had used them." James had sent a foolish letter to this Convention intimating a pardon to those traitors who should return to their allegiance within a fortnight. Against all others unsparing vengeance was denounced.[1] On 15th March Claverhouse, with fifty dragoons, rode off to Stirling. This was a direct act of treachery and rebellion, as at the Convention he and his friends agreed not to quit their post, but remain with the Whigs. The Convention resolved that the kingdom must be put in a state of defence, and William sent a squadron of war-vessels to the Firth of Forth, containing three Scottish regiments which had accompanied him from Holland. The force was commanded by Hugh Mackay, a distinguished Highlander.

The two great champions of the ex-King, John Graham of Claverhouse and the Earl of Perth, were promptly dealt with by the Scottish Parliament.:—

EDINBURGH, 30*th March*, 1689.

Forasmuch as John, Viscount Dundee, being cited by warrant of the Estates to lay down his arms under pain of treason, and to appear before them to answer for his corresponding with the Duke of Gordon after he was intercommuned: and the herald who cited him having verified the execution of the charge; he being thrice called in the House and not appearing, the Estates declared the said Viscount Dundee fugitive and rebel, and ordain heralds with sound of trumpet to denounce him at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, and at the Mercat Cross of the head burgh of the shire of Forfar where he lives, etc.

The Estates ordain the Earl of Mar, Governor of Stirling Castle, to keep the Earl of Perth a close prisoner without allowing him the use of pen, ink and paper, and to allow him only one servant, who is to

[1] Acts of the Scot. Par.; Balcarres Memoirs.

remain a prisoner with him until further notice. The Estates considered a petition by Mary, Countess of Perth, representing that the Earl, her husband, being now committed a prisoner in Stirling Castle, she is not only deprived of his company, but even the small satisfaction of seeing him is absolutely denied her, which could not but be very grievous to anyone under her present circumstances. The Estates hereby allow the said Mary, Countess of Perth, once in the day, to see her husband for the space of one hour, in presence of the commanding officer of Stirling Castle. This was Lady Mary Gordon, daughter of the Marquis of Huntly.

On 11th April, 1689, the ceremony of the coronation took place at Westminster. Queen Mary was girt with the sword; lifted up into the throne, and presented with the Bible, the spurs and the orb, or sphere. The King's crown was carried by Grafton, the Queen's by Somerset. The Earl of Ormond, Lord High Constable for the day, rode up the hall on the right hand of the hereditary champion, who three times threw his glove on the pavement, and thrice defied to mortal combat the false traitor who should gainsay the title of William and Mary. When the sword was offered at the altar, William and Mary carried it between them. He was a diminutive man, she a very tall woman; carrying a huge sword between them seemed very absurd. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Sancroft, being a Catholic and a Jacobite, refused to crown William and Mary, and it was done by Compton, bishop of London.

It is said the number of peers and peeresses at the coronation was very small, this arising from the absence of the Jacobites. They were conducted four abreast from the Court of Requests down the great stone staircase into Westminster Hall. The King and Queen followed, taking their seats on the throne. On the question being asked whether they would accept William and Mary, they answered by acclamation.

The King and Queen then kissed the Bible, and Dr. Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, preached the coronation sermon. The oath was then administered, after which the bishop of London anointed their Majesties and crowned them. The coronation banquet took place in Westminster Hall. Next day the members of the House of Commons congratulated the King and Queen. The King replied that by God's assistance they both hoped to render them shortly a flourishing people. It is a curious fact that a great pearl and much silver plate were stolen at the ceremony, and were never traced. In Scotland there was no coronation ceremonial. The Scottish Regalia was at the time in Edinburgh Castle, held by the Duke of Gordon for King James. The Queen, it would appear, never was permitted by her husband to have any communication with Parliament except by means of deputations carrying addresses to her, which she usually received sitting by her husband at Whitehall. The Jacobites were out of sympathy with the coronation proceedings, and complained of the presence of Dutch soldiers as being unseemly on such an occasion. Among the honours bestowed, the Earl of Danby became Marquis of Caermarthen; Churchill, Earl of Marlborough; Mordaunt, Earl of Monmouth; and William Bentinck, Earl of Portland. Nottingham handed to the Queen a letter from her father, in which he said "that hitherto he had made all fatherly excuses for what had been done, and had wholly attributed her part in the revolution to obedience to her husband, but the act of being crowned was in her own power; and if she were crowned while he and the Prince of Wales were living, the curse of an outraged father would light upon her, as well as of that God who had commanded duty to parents." After this remarkable letter William declared "that he had done nothing but by her advice and with her approbation."[1]

On 11th April William and Mary were proclaimed King and Queen of Scotland at the Mercat Cross of

[1] Nottingham MSS. in Dalrymple's Appendix.

Edinburgh. The Convention went forth in procession to the High Street; several great nobles, attended by the Lord Provost and by the heralds, ascended the Octagon Tower, from which rose the city cross surmounted by the unicorn of Scotland. The Duke of Hamilton read the vote of the Convention, and a herald proclaimed the new sovereigns with sound of trumpet. On the same day the Estates issued an order that the clergy should, on pain of deprivation, publish from their pulpits the proclamation that had been read, and should pray for William and Mary. The Lords of the Articles drew up a Claim of Right, which purported to be declaratory of the law as it stood, and a list of grievances which could only be remedied by new laws. The Convention inserted in the Claim of Right a clause declaring that Episcopacy was an insupportable burden to the kingdom, was distasteful to the people, and should be abolished.

On account of the secret negotiations that were going on between James and his supporters in Scotland, the Scottish Parliament, in the interest of the Prince of Orange, issued the following proclamation :—

EDINBURGH, 13*th April*, 1689.

The Estates of Scotland, having proclaimed William and Mary to be King and Queen of Scotland, have thought fit, by public proclamation, to certify to the lieges that none presume to own or acknowledge the late King James for their king, nor obey any commission or orders that may be emitted by him; and that none presume, upon their highest peril, by word or writing, in sermons or any other manner of way, to impugn or disown the Royal authority of William and Mary; but that all the lieges render their dutiful obedience to their Majesties, and that none presume to misconstrue the proceeding of the Estates, or create jealousies or misapprehension of the actings of the Government. But that all the ministers of the Gospel publicly pray for William and Mary, and the

Estates require the ministers of Edinburgh, under pain of being deprived of their benefices, to read this intimation from their pulpits on Sunday, the 14th inst., at the end of the forenoon service; and all the ministers on this side of the Tay to read the same on Sunday thereafter; those benorth the Tay on the 28th inst., under pain aforesaid. Ordains this proclamation to be published at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh with all ordinary solemnities, that none may pretend ignorance.

WHITEHALL, 11*th May*, 1689.

The ceremony of the Inauguration took place on the 11th May, when by commission of the Estates of Scotland the three Scottish commissioners—Argyll, Montgomerie and Dalrymple—accompanied by all Scotsmen of note who were in London, proceeded to the banqueting-house of Whitehall. William and Mary appeared seated under a canopy. The throne was surrounded by English nobles and statesmen. The oath was administered after the Scots fashion: Argyll recited the words slowly; the Royal pair holding up their hands, repeated after him till they came to the last clause; it provided that he would "root out all heretics and enemies of the true worship of God." William could not take this part of the oath without an explanation, saying: "I will not lay myself under any obligation to be a persecutor." One of the commissioners said: "Neither the words of this oath nor the laws of Scotland lay any such obligation on your Majesty," and William thereupon took the oath, adding: "I take the oath in that sense only, and I desire you all to witness that I do so." The following is the text of the oath:—

We faithfully promise and swear, in presence of the Eternal God, that during the whole course of our life we shall serve the same God to the uttermost of our power, according as He hath required in His most Holy Word; and we shall maintain

the true religion of Jesus Christ and the preaching of His Holy Word; and shall abolish all false religions contrary to the same; and shall rule the people committed to our charge according to the will and command of God, and according to the laws and Constitution of this realm not repugnant to the Word of God; and shall procure to the utmost of our power to the Kirk of God and the whole Christian people true and perfect peace in all time coming. We shall preserve and keep inviolate the rights and rents and all just privileges of the Crown; neither shall we transfer or alienate the same. We shall forbid and repress in all estates and degrees oppression and all kinds of wrong; and we shall command and procure that justice and equity in all judgments be exercised without exception. And we shall be careful to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God who shall be convicted of the foresaid crimes out of our lands and empire of Scotland.[1]

WILLIAM R.
MARIE R.

There is recorded a curious incident between the Scottish Parliament, Viscount Dundee and David, fifth Viscount Stormont:—

EDINBURGH, 12*th May*, 1689.

A letter was read in the Estates of Parliament, written by the Provost of Perth, Robert Smyth, to the Duke of Hamilton, stating that Viscount Dundee (Claverhouse), had come from Inverness, *via* Dunkeld, arriving at Perth on Saturday morning at two o'clock with 120 horse, when he surprised the town and seized the lairds of Blair and Pollock, captain and lieutenant of the troops ordered to be levied in the county of Perth, and some of the troops and country gentlemen, and that he had got forty horses from them; and at eleven o'clock retired from the town, going northwards again.

[1] The population of Edinburgh at this period is reported at 60,000; Glasgow, 30,000.

EDINBURGH, 18*th May*, 1689.

To General Mackay.—I doubt not that before this time you have received the committee's letter, giving notice that Lord Dundee, having come to Perth, seized the lairds of Blair and Pollock, whom he detains as prisoners; he having thereafter offered to attend Dundee, the committee wrote to Sir John Lanier to send hither Barclay's dragoons, and Hastie's and Leslie's regiments of foot, who are come and ordered to march: the dragoons to quarter at Coupar-Angus, one of the foot regiments at Perth, the other at Forfar, to attend your orders.

EDINBURGH, 13*th May*, 1689.

A missive letter from Viscount Stormont to the President (Estates of Parliament), was read, bearing that Viscount Dundee had forced his dinner from him at his house of Scone on Saturday last, and desiring that his intercommuning with him being voluntary might be excused. The President, the Earl of Ross, replied: "I have communicated your lordship's letter to a committee of the Estates, who are not satisfied with the account you give therein of your conversation with Dundee, an intercommuned person. They therefore require you with all expedition to repair to Edinburgh, that you may give them a more satisfactory account of the matter."

This request being disregarded, was followed by another:—

EDINBURGH, 22*nd May*, 1689.

The committee for securing peace gave orders to the messengers-at-arms to cite Viscount Stormont and Sir John Moray of Drumcairn to appear before the meeting of Estates within forty-eight hours after citation, to answer to the information given in against them of corresponding with Viscount Dundee.

The following ordinances were issued by William and

Mary for the better administration of law and order in Scotland :—

EDINBURGH, 5*th June*, 1689.

The King and Queen, with consent of the Estates of the kingdom presently assembled, do enact and declare that the Three Estates now met, consisting of the noblemen, barons and burghs, are a lawful and free Parliament, and are hereby declared to be such, notwithstanding the want of new writs of proclamation for calling the same, or the want of any other solemnity. And all acts and statutes passed thereon shall be received, acknowledged and obeyed as acts of Parliament and laws of the kingdom. It is hereby declared that it shall be high treason for any persons to disown, quarrel or impugn the dignity and authority of this Parliament on any pretence whatever, and ordain these presents to be proclaimed at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, that none pretend ignorance.

EDINBURGH, 17*th June*, 1689.

The Estates of Parliament, considering that the King and Queen have accepted of the crown of this realm, and have sworn the oath appointed by law to be taken by all Kings and Queens of Scotland ; the Estates hereby assert, recognise and acknowledge their Majesty's Royal power and authority over the said kingdom, and their undoubted right and title to the imperial crown. Their Majesties, with advice of the Estates, hereby declare that it is high treason for any subject by writing, speaking, or in any way to disown, quarrel or impugn their Royal power and authority ; and further ordain that the oath of allegiance shall be sworn and subscribed by all members and clerks of Parliament, and by all persons in public trust, civil or military. All preceding laws imposing any other oath of allegiance hereby rescinded.[1]

William, in addressing the Estates of Parliament at

[1] Acts of the Scot. Par.

Edinburgh, underdate Hampton Court, 4th July, 1689, said:—

We have seen your letter of 25th June, with a draft of an act referred to. We have of new instructed our commissioners to increase your number and enlarge your privileges on that committee. And as we are firmly resolved to redress your grievances, we shall propose nothing to you but what we consider to be for the good of the nation. And we expect you will show your affection to us by your ready concurring with what our commissioner shall propose. We have instructed him to hasten our people's satisfaction in settling the Church government and providing restitution to all who have been subjected to fines or forfeitures. We shall on all occasions promote what shall be requisite to secure a lasting peace to the kingdom.

Hospitality was not among the Royal virtues of the throne. When the King dined at St. James's Palace, it is recorded that no one was permitted to eat with him but Schomberg and some Dutch officers. Schomberg was always placed at the King's right hand. If any English noblemen came in, according to their natural custom, during the Royal dinner, they stood behind the King's chair, and never a word did he speak to them, nor were they ever invited to sit down to eat, a courtesy common in such cases.

The King paid frequent visits this year to Newmarket, and spent whole days on the race-ground or in hunting; in the evenings he gambled. Lambert informs us that on one occasion he lost 4,000 guineas at basset at one sitting, and the next morning, being in a state of exasperation, he gave a gentleman a stroke with his horsewhip for riding before him on the race-course. It is recorded of Mary that all she did was natural and unaffected, her conversation natural and obliging; she gave large sums to the poor, and when a mass of people of quality had fled from Ireland, they drew from her great marks of her bounty and goodness.

William and Mary, like all monarchs whose resources are consumed by foreign warfare, were poor and parsimonious. Difficult would it be to discover any disbursement to a literary person. The Queen, having a mind one afternoon to be entertained with music, sent for Henry Purcell, the famous composer; Mrs. Arabella Hunt, a fine vocalist, and others. The vocalists sang several melodies by Purcell, while the composer accompanied them on the harpsichord. Mary, becoming weary of Purcell's exalted music, inquired if Arabella Hunt could sing "Cauld and raw the wind doth blaw"? The lady sang it to her lute. Purcell sat in silence, much mortified at the Queen's taste. Seeing this air pleased her, he adapted it to her next birthday ode, sung by Gostling.[1] The Queen had been accustomed to hear Gostling in her early days when he used to join in duets with her uncle, Charles II., who sung tenor, and her father accompanied them on the guitar.[2]

The Marquis of Atholl, described as a fickle and pusillanimous man, who had been a supporter of James, and again a supporter of William, left Scotland and went to Bath pretending to drink the waters; in reality, because James was now playing a losing game with little prospect of recovering power. Lord John Murray, eldest son of Atholl, was married to a daughter of the Duke of Hamilton, and declared for King William; the Marquis's agent declared for King James, and the men of Atholl did not know whom to obey. Blair Castle was occupied by Atholl's agent and his followers. Claverhouse, after his flight from Edinburgh, proceeded to the North. An emissary of James crossed from Ireland with letters addressed to him and Balcarres, which created suspicion, and Hamilton issued orders for both to be apprehended. Balcarres was caught and put in the Tolbooth, but Claverhouse escaped. He went all over the Highlands so as to get some of the clans, who were Jacobites, to assist him in assuming the defensive. He then took up his quarters in Lochaber,

[1] Hawkins' History of Music. [2] Strickland.

and sent to James to Dublin for military help. The Covenanters of the West called Claverhouse a servant of the devil; that between him and the devil there was a close alliance; that Claverhouse had bound himself to do the work of Hell on earth, and Hell was permitted to protect him till his measure of guilt should be full.

All through the summer of 1689 the register of the Privy Council had been crammed with petitions from imprisoned persons calling for some relief from the miseries they were enduring in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, Stirling and Blackness Castles, and other places of confinement to which they had been sent generally without a cause. In Edinburgh the numbers were great of men of the highest rank being sent to these places. Balcarres petitioned on 30th May for relief from the Tolbooth on the plea that his health was suffering, being accustomed to outdoor exercise. The Privy Council allowed him out on parole.[1]

At this crisis the famous Cameronian, or 26th Regiment, was formed by the Earl of Angus, a nobleman who fell at Steinkirk in 1692. Its first commander was William Clelland, a gallant officer, who was shot at Dunkeld shortly after Killiecrankie. During the troubles of 1689 Edinburgh Castle, which had held out for some months, surrendered to William. Two acts of the Scottish Parliament, one turning the Convention into a Parliament, the other recognising William and Mary as King and Queen, were passed and touched with the sceptre, and then the complications with factions began.[2]

William was greatly interested in having a good postal service, and on 24th July the General Postmastership for Scotland was let by public vote to John Blair, chemist, Edinburgh, he undertaking to carry on the entire business at various rates of postage for letters, and to pay the Crown £255 sterling per annum for seven years; the postage rates were 2s., 3s. and 4s. per letter, Scots money, according to mileage.

[1] Chambers's Domestic Annals. [2] Acts of the Scot. Par.

Claverhouse was not a man who indulged much in letter-writing, but one of the few letters written by him, addressed to the Earl of Melfort, throws great light on the situation:—

Moy, Lochaber, 27*th June*, 1689.

You know what the Church of England is in England, and both there and here they generally say that the King is not disposed to push matters of religion or force people to do things against their conscience; but that you, to gain favour with those of that religion, had prevailed with him contrary to his inclination to do what he did, which has given his enemies occasion to destroy him and his monarchy. . . . I am obliged to tell you that if the people take umbrage as to their religion, it will be, notwithstanding foreign aid, a long war. But I think you may come over; and when you have seen the state of affairs you may consider what may be best for you to do. You desire me to recommend a proper man to be a secretary; you know it is hard to do. I would, were I you, advise the King to employ one to be turned out when things altered. . . . I thought if I could gain time and keep up the appearance of a party without loss, it was my best plan till we get assistance. I have told the King I had neither commission, money nor ammunition. My brother-in-law and my wife found ways to get credit; for myself, nobody durst pay to a traitor. I was surprised when I saw Mr. Drummond, the advocate, in Highland costume come up to Lochaber to me and reported that the Queen had sent £2,000 sterling to London to be paid to me for the King's service, and that two more were coming. I did not think the Queen knew anything about our affairs. When the money comes I shall keep count of it and employ it right. But I am afraid it will be hard to bring it from Edinburgh. When we came first out I had but fifty pounds of powder, more I could not get; all the great towns and seaports were in rebellion, and had seized the powder, and would sell

none. But I had an advantage, the Highlanders will not fire above once, and then they take to the broad-sword. I wonder above all things that in three months I never heard from you, seeing by Mr. Hay I had so earnestly recommended it to you, and told him of this way by Inverlochy as sure if you would not have sent expresses, we thought you would at least have hastened the despatch of those we sent. . . . There has been two English men-of-war and the Glasgow frigates among the islands till of late. For the rest of the letters, I undertook to get them delivered. Most of the persons to whom they were directed are either put under bond, or in prison, or gone out of the kingdom. The advocate, a very honest man, is gone to England, firm beyond belief, and Atholl is gone too, who did not know what to do. Earl Home is taken prisoner to Edinburgh, but will be let out on bail. Lord Breadalbane keeps close in a strong house he has, and pretends the gout; Errol, Aberdeen and Lauderdale stay at home; the Earl Marischal is in Edinburgh, but does not meddle; the bishops, I know not where they are; they are now the Kirk invisible. I will be forced to open the letter, and send copies attested, to them, and keep the original till I can find the Primate. The poor ministers are sorely oppressed; they generally stand right. Queensberry was present at the Cross when their new mock King was proclaimed; and I have voted for him though not for the throne vacant. Tarbet is a great villain; besides what he has done at Edinburgh, he has endeavoured to seduce Lochiel by offers of money. He is now gone up to secure his faction, which is melting. . . . Douglas is now a great knave as well as beast, so also is Glencairn, Morton and Eglinton; and even Cassillis is gone astray, misled by Gibby (Gilbert Burnet). Panmure keeps right and at home, as also does Strathmore, Southesk and Kinnaird; old Airlie is at Edinburgh under caution, so is Balcarres and Dunmore; Stormont is declared fugitive for not appearing. All these will break out and many more

when the King lands ; most of the gentry on this side of the Forth and many on the other side will do so to. . . . Lord Dunfermline stays constantly with me, and so does Lords Dunkeld, Pitcur, and many other gentlemen, who really deserve well, for they suffer great hardships. When the troops land there must be blank commissions sent for horse and foot for them and others who will join. There must be a commission of justiciary to judge all but landed men, for there will be examples made of some who cannot be judged by a council of war. They take our people and hang them up by their new sheriffs, when they find them struggling. . . . I would have a good party sent over to Inverlochy, 5,000 or 6,000 as you have conveniency of beasts, and as many horse as conveniently can. About 600 or 800 would do well, but rather more, for had I had horse for all that yet appeared I would not have feared them. Inverlochy is a safe landing, far from the enemy, and one may choose from there to go to Moray by Inverness, Angus by Atholl, or Perth by Glencoe. The passage is long by sea and inconvenient ; so soon as the boats return let them ferry over as many more foot as they think fit to the point of Kintyre, which will be soon done, and then the King has all the boats for his own landing. . . . I am just now informed that Mackay has gone from Inverness by Moray towards Edinburgh. I know not what troops he has taken with him, but it is thought he will take the horse and dragoons, and most of the standing forces. . . . I had almost forgot to tell you that P. O. (Prince of Orange) has written to his Scotch Council telling them he will not have his troops any more harassed following me through the hills, but orders them to draw to the west, where he says a great army is to land ; and at the same time gives them accounts that eight sail of men-of-war are coming from Brest with 15,000 men on board. He knows not whether they are meant for England or Ireland. I beg you will send an express before, whatever you do, that I may know how to take my measures, and if the

express that comes knows nothing, I am sure it shall not be disclosed by me. I have told Hay nothing of this proposal ; if there come any party this way I beg you to send on ammunition, and 3,000 or 4,000 arms of different sorts, some horse and some foot. I have just now received confirmation of Mackenzie going south, and that he takes with him all the horse and dragoons and all the standing foot, by which I conclude they are preparing against the landing in the west.—I am etc., DUNDEE.

CHAPTER XI

Battle of Killiecrankie—Speech of Claverhouse to his troops—Fall of Claverhouse—His dying letter to James—Despatch of Highland Chiefs to Mackay—Battle of Dunkeld—Queen Mary sends Earl of Ross to prison—Meeting of Parliament at Westminster—King James in Ireland—Battle of Beachy Head—Meeting of Scottish Parliament—William opens Parliament at Westminster—His Reception at The Hague—Whitehall Palace burned—The Queen, Lady Marlborough and Anne—Meeting of General Assembly, 1692—The Glencoe Massacre—Dalrymple, High Commissioner—James's characteristic Declaration—Battle of La Hogue—Battle of Steinkirk—James at St. Germains—Formation of Whig Ministry.

REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

A.D. 1688—1702.

THE Jacobites and Covenanters were gradually preparing for a trial of strength, but to the former the deposition of the late King was an overwhelming blow.

General Mackay, acting for William and Mary, learning that Claverhouse had taken refuge in the Highlands and was endeavouring to form a coalition of the clans against the Government, resolved to march northward, with the view of crushing the insurrection. For several weeks Mackay marched and countermarched among the mountains, following the tracks of his adversary and occasionally skirmishing with him, but was ultimately compelled to retreat, Claverhouse having collected an overwhelming force, turned upon the pursuer, and had nearly succeeded in crushing him before he was aware of the danger. Mackay proceeded to Inverness, his troops numbering only 600. He then pushed on to Aberdeenshire, where

he was joined by two regiments of dragoons, and immediately after appointed one-half of his troops to garrison Inverness, and with the other he advanced to Edinburgh. Thereafter he directed his troops to assemble in Perthshire, and these amounted now to over 3,000.[1] Claverhouse, supported by Lochiel, also mustered his forces, numbering 2,500. On 27th July he arrived at Blair, where he learned that Mackay was in the ravine or Pass of Killiecrankie. Here it was determined by Claverhouse and Lochiel to have the engagment. Claverhouse formed his men by clans at Lochiel's request and into unequal battalions. In the centre was Lochiel, Glengarry and Clanranald, each heading a battalion; on the right the Macleans; on the left the Macdonalds, commanded by Sir Donald Macdonald, Sir George Berkeley and Sir Alexander Maclean; and there was the Irish contingent under General Connon. The armies faced each other, after they were formed, for more than two hours. Mackay formed his troops into a long line three men deep; Lord Leven's regiment was on the right; the Scots Fusiliers with Balfour on the left; in the centre, in the rear, two troops of horses. Claverhouse then addressed his troops:—"Gentlemen, you are come hither this day to fight, and that in the best of causes; for it is the battle of your King, your religion and your country, against the foulest usurpation and rebellion; and having therefore so good a cause in your hands, I doubt not but that it will inspire you with an equal courage to maintain it. For there is no sympathy between loyalty and treason, nor should there be any between the valour of good subjects and traitors. Remember that to-day begins the fate of your King, your religion and your country; behave yourselves, therefore, like true Scotsmen, and let us by this action redeem the credit of this nation that is laid low by the treacheries and cowardice of some of our countrymen, in which I ask nothing of you

[1] Mackay's Memoirs.

that you shall not see me do before you; and if any of us shall fall on this occasion, we shall have the honour of dying at our duty and as becomes true men of valour and conscience; and such of us as shall live and win the battle shall have the reward of a gracious King and the praise of all good men. In God's name, then, let us go forward, and let this be your word, 'King James and the Catholic Church of Scotland, which God long preserve.'"

At seven p.m. Claverhouse gave the order for battle; the whole line advanced firmly. The enemy returned the fire and did much execution. When only a small space was left between the armies, the Highlanders flung away their firelocks, stripped themselves to the shirt and doublet, drew their swords, and rushed furiously forward and broke the ranks of Balfour's regiment; he was struck down. Ramsay's men turned their backs and dropped their arms. Mackay's own infantry were almost annihilated by the furious onset of the Highlanders; Belhaven's horse, appalled by the rout of the infantry, fled in disorder, and Annandale's followed. Mackay, Balfour and Ramsay commanded the three Scotch regiments which served in Holland under the Prince of Orange. A furious attack was thereafter made on Mackay's artillery and cavalry, which compelled Mackay to ride a short distance for safety. When he had gone far enough to be out of danger he turned round to survey the battlefield, and to his surprise both armies had disappeared, having in their fury gone down pell-mell to the river, which is a considerable distance below the level of the pass. At the beginning of the battle Claverhouse had taken his place in front of his cavalry, bade them follow him, and rode forward. His horse hesitated; he turned round, stood up in his stirrups, and waving his hat, invited them to come on. As he lifted his arm his cuirass rose and exposed the lower part of his left side; a musket-ball struck him and penetrated some inches into his chest; his horse sprang forward and plunged into a

cloud of smoke, which hid him from sight. A soldier named Johnston was near him, and caught him as he sank down from the saddle. "How goes the day?" said he. "Well for King James," said Johnston; "but I am sorry for your lordship." "If it is well for him, it matters the less for me," said he. He was wrapped in two plaids, was carried to Blair Castle, and, being reverently put to bed, he desired writing materials, when he wrote the following letter to his master, King James. It was the last letter he ever wrote, as he died next morning:—

It has pleased God to give your forces a great victory over the rebels, in which three-fourths of them are fallen under the weight of our swords. I might say much of the action if I had not the honour to command in it, but of 5,000 men, which was the best computation I could make of the rebels, it is certain there cannot have escaped 1,200. We have not lost full out 900. The absolute victory made us masters of the field, and the enemy's baggage, which I gave to the soldiers, who, to do them justice, both officers and men, behaved themselves with equal gallantry, to whatever I have seen in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies; and this Mackay's old soldiers felt on this occasion. I cannot now, sir, be more particular, but take leave to assure your Majesty that the kingdom is generally disposed for your service, and impatiently awaits your coming; and this success will bring in the rest of the nobility and gentry, having had all the assurance for it except the notorious rebels. Therefore, sir, for God's sake, assist us, though it be with such another detachment of your Irish forces as you sent us before, especially of horse and dragoons, and you will crown our blessings with a complete success, and yourself with an entire possession of your ancient kingdom of Scotland. My wounds forbid me to enlarge to your Majesty at this time, though they tell me they are not mortal. However, sir, I beseech you to believe, whether I live or die, I am entirely yours,[1]

DUNDEE.

It has not been finally determined whether Claverhouse

[1] Stuart Papers.

died on the battlefield or in Blair Castle, and the genuineness of this letter has therefore been called in question. In the ruined church of Old Blair a small mural tablet bears the following inscription :—

"Within a vault beneath are interred the remains of John Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount Dundee, who fell in the battle of Killiecrankie, 27th July, 1689, aged 46. This Memorial is placed by John, 7th Duke of Athole, K.T. 1889."

Claverhouse was interred under the old church of Blair, which church has long since disappeared.[1] "Never vaulted roof or marble monument covered the last abode of a more restless and ambitious heart than that which has slept in this quiet spot amidst peasant dust."[2] Mackay seems to have first thought of defending himself within the garden of Urrard, but on reflection he resolved on a retreat. With an escort he made his way to Drummond Castle, and proceeded the following day to Stirling.[3] His loss is said to have been 2,000, inclusive of 500 taken prisoners, and that of Claverhouse 900. A rude stone on the field of battle marks, if local tradition can be trusted, the place where he fell, but we do not think the actual spot can be absolutely identified. As far as the great interests of the State were concerned it mattered not whether Killiecrankie was lost or won, as the Jacobites were gradually getting fewer and could not long hold out against the overwhelming strength of the Prince of Orange.[4]

[1] After the battle the ghost of Claverhouse is said (Chambers's Dom. An.) to have appeared to his friend, Lord Balcarres, then confined in Edinburgh Castle. The ghost, drawing aside the curtains of the bed, looked steadfastly on the Earl, after which it moved towards the mantel-piece, remained there some time in a leaning posture, and then walked out of the chamber. Balcarres, in great surprise, called out repeatedly to it to stop, believing it was his friend Claverhouse, but received no answer, and subsequently learned that at the very moment when this shadow stood before him Claverhouse had breathed his last.

[2] Hill Burton.

[3] Mackay's Memoirs.

[4] Archibald, tenth Earl of Argyll, afterwards first Duke of

The Highland chiefs, who were Jacobites, sent the following communication to General Mackay :—

BIRSE, *17th August*, 1689.

We received yours from Strathbogie, and we saw that you wrote to Brigadier Connon from Perth, to which we gave a civil answer, for by stating that you support yourselves by fictions and stories (known all the world over) is no railing. The Christian means, as you say in your last, you make use of to advance your good cause by, is evident to all the world. And the argument you use to move us to address your Government is consequential to the whole, for instead of telling us what Christians, men of honour, good subjects and good neighbours, ought to do, you inform us that His Majesty has hot wars in Ireland, and cannot in haste come to us, which, though it were true, as we know it is not, is only an argument of policy. And that you may know the sentiments of men of honour we declare to you and all the world that we scorn your usurper (King William), and the indemnities of his Government; and to save you further trouble we assure you we are satisfied that our King (James) will take his own time and way to manage his dominions and punish his rebels. And although he should send no assistance to us, we will die, sword in hand, before we fail in our loyalty and allegiance to our sovereign. Judge, then, what effect

Argyll, came over with the Prince of Orange in 1688 from Holland. His estates were restored, and the forfeitures of his predecessors reversed by Parliament on the following terms :—

"*Edinburgh*, *1st August*, 1689.—The King and Queen, by the advice of the Estates of Parliament, hereby rescind and annul the doom and sentence of forfeiture pronounced by the Lord Justice General and Commissioners of Justiciary against the deceased, Archibald, Earl of Argyll, on 23rd December, 1681, and act of Parliament of May, 1685, approving the same; declare the same to have been from the beginning, and to be now, and in all time coming, null and void, and restore Archibald, now Earl of Argyll, and the children of the deceased Earl, and their posterity, against the said forfeiture, and ordain the same to be expunged and razed out of the record."

Duke Hamilton's letter has on us, but you have got an honourable father for this story from Ireland. And though we can better tell you how matters go in Ireland, and that we pity those on whom such stories have influence, yet since we have no orders to offer conditions to any rebels, we allow you and his Grace to believe us, and take your measures and your success till His Majesty's further orders. Sir, we thank you for the good intention of your invitation (though we are confident you had no hope of success), and we will shortly endeavour to give you a requital. Those of us who live in islands have already seen and defied the Prince of Orange and his frigates. We have returned your letter from Duke Hamilton because you have more use for it than we.

H. M'Lean of Lochbuie.
Alex. M'Donell.
D. M'D. of Benbeculla.
R. M'Neill of Barra.
D. M'Neill.
Ro. M'Donald.
Jo. M'Donald.
Alex. Maclaine.
Jo. M'Lean.
E. Cameron of Lochiel.
C. Mackenzie.
D. M'Donald.
John Grant of Ballindalloch.
Pa. Steuart.
J. M'Nachtane.
Alex. M'Donald.
A. M'Nachtane.
Jo. Cameron.
Tho. Farquharson.

The Cameron Highlanders, commanded by Clelland, were three weeks afterwards sent to garrison Dunkeld in the interest of King William. General Mackay disapproved of this, but was over-ruled. The inhabitants kept Connon, the Jacobite General, fully posted up with information, most of the clans being Jacobites. On the 17th August the Camerons reached their quarters, and next morning, seeing signs of hostility, they set about cutting trenches and making barricades. They were first threatened by the Atholl men, who sent this message: "We, the gentlemen assembled, being informed that ye intend to burn the town, desire to know whether ye come for peace or war, and to certify

you that if ye burn any house we will destroy you." The Camerons replied: "We are faithful subjects of William and Mary, and enemies to their enemies; if you who send these threats make any hostile appearance we will burn all that belongs to you, and otherwise destroy you as you deserve."[1] On the third day after Killiecrankie there came to Blair 500 of Lochiel's men; 200 under Stewart of Appin; 300 Macphersons and Macdonalds, with all the Atholl men. This made up 500. On the morning of 21st August these men crowned the neighbouring hills around Dunkeld. Under Connon, who commanded after Claverhouse fell, they came close round the village to make the general rush as at Killiecrankie. They attacked the Camerons fiercely, drove in their outposts, and came pouring on every side into the streets of Dunkeld; they were again and again driven back. The houses were crowded from top to bottom with Highlanders who kept up a constant fire from the windows. Clelland, while encouraging his men, was shot dead, and the command devolved on Major Henderson. In another minute Henderson fell pierced with three mortal wounds; Captain Munro supplied his place and the fight went on with undiminished fury. The Camerons then set fire to the houses from which the fatal shots had come, and turned the keys in the doors. In one house sixteen Jacobite soldiers were burned alive. The Camerons then sent a party of men with blazing faggots on the ends of long pikes who set fire to the dry thatched houses and the old town was speedily in flames. The struggle was prosecuted with great fury for four hours; every house was burned down except three in which the Camerons were posted.

The Jacobite or defeated Highlanders retreated towards Blair and afterwards dispersed; General Mackay took possession of Blair Castle. Mackay's bravery was not very conspicuous at Killiecrankie, if we may judge from the various reports published; it

[1] Hill Burton.

is difficult, however, to arrive at the actual facts; if his troops numbered 4,000, as some writers say, it seems mysterious why at the close of the battle he had so few men remaining. We think 4,000 an over-statement, but we must remember that a large portion of his troops fled from the field of battle and showed great cowardice, while the killed and wounded are estimated at 2,000, a number unusually great, unless it includes the 500 who were taken prisoners.

Queen Mary was at this period (August, 1689) alone in her administrative capacity, her husband having gone to the Continent, and in that position she showed plenty of resource, courage and capability, which justified the high respect her husband entertained for her as a ruler. She had just heard of the Beachy Head defeat. The Royal messengers from Ireland and Scotland had been intercepted, and for weeks nothing had been heard from Edinburgh. In the midst of all this came the Montgomery plot, which it was necessary the Queen herself should investigate. She met the conspirators severally alone; examined them sharply, and kept notes of their statements. The Earl of Ross was alarmed by the Queen demanding written answers to her questions. He said it was beyond their bargain that his handwriting should remain to be seen and possibly made use of. The Queen then charged him with concealment and prevarication, and committed him to custody for high treason. This alarmed the other two conspirators, Montgomery and Annandale, who immediately after took the oath of allegiance.[1]

Parliament met on 19th October at Westminster, when a Special Committee was appointed to inquire who were answerable for the deaths of Lord Russell, Sidney, and other eminent Whigs who did not sympathise with the Government of James II., or his brother Charles. The Earl of Stamford was chairman of this Committee. It inspected the books of the Council. The clerks of Council were examined. Some facts

[1] Hill Burton.

disgraceful to the judges, to the solicitors, to the Treasury, to the witnesses for the Crown, and to the keepers of the State prisons were elicited; but about the packing of juries no evidence could be obtained. The previous Parliament reversed the attainder of Lord William Russell, son of the Duke of Bedford, who had been unwarrantably executed by the command of James. Sir Dudley North, a severe and cruel judge under James, underwent a severe examination for his judgments. He was dishonest as well as cruel, and was sharply handled by the Committee. Halifax, Sir Robert Sawyer, and various others were examined, and many of their judgments reversed. The infamous Titus Oates, who had lived through three years of his punishment, was set at liberty, having had his ears clipped off. King William watched these proceedings with anxiety, sometimes with impatience, and declared himself weary of his crown; he had tried to do justice to all parties.

There was great excitement in Scotland after the proclamation of William and Mary. On Christmas Day, 1689, the Covenanters held armed musters in various parts of the country, each band marched to the nearest manse, sacked the cellar and larder of the minister, which at that season was well stocked; his furniture was thrown out of the windows, and his wife and children turned out of doors. He was then carried to the market-place and exposed as a malefactor. His gown was torn to shreds over his head, and he was dismissed with a charge never, as he valued his life, to officiate in the parish again.

On the 27th January, 1690, the Commons repaired to the House of Lords; the King was on the throne; he announced his intention of going to Parliament. This intimation was received with great acclamation. All his actions at this time indicated his determination to restrain steadily, though gently, the violence of the Whigs, and to conciliate the good-will of the Tories. Some of the prelates refused to take the oath of allegiance,

specially the Primate, and five of his suffragans, who were said to be inflexible. They consequently forfeited their bishoprics, but Sancroft was informed that the King had not yet relinquished the hope of being able to make some arrangement which might avert the necessity of appointing successors, and that they might continue for the present to reside in their palaces, receivers for the Crown being appointed to collect the revenue. Then appeared the proclamation dissolving Parliament. On 20th March the new Parliament met: Sir John Trevor being appointed Speaker. The King opened Parliament with a speech from the throne, recommending for the immediate consideration of the House the settling of the revenue, and the granting of an annuity. The hereditary revenue had passed with the crown to William and Mary, and it amounted to between four and five hundred thousand pounds.[1]

The Excise and Customs' duties at this period amounted to about double that sum. That portion of the Excise which had been settled for life on James, estimated at £300,000 a year, was settled on William and Mary for their joint lives. This and the hereditary revenue constituted their income. William was not satisfied with it; it was small; he thought it unjust and ungrateful in a people whose liberties he had saved to bind him over to his good behaviour.

The King and Queen, since the commencement of their reign, had not been on very good terms with the Princess Anne. She thought the King's temper sour and his manners repulsive, but she was incapable of appreciating his higher qualities. "Anne when in good humour was meekly stupid, and when in bad humour sulkily stupid." The fondness of the Princess Anne for Lady Marlborough was such as in a superstitious age would have been ascribed to some talisman or potion. The two ladies, in their confidential intercourse, dropped all ceremony, and became Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman; Prince George, Anne's husband,

[1] Commons' Journals, 28th March, 1690.

who cared nothing for the dignity of his birth, submitted to be Mr. Morley. Nothing, the historian says, is more curious than the relation in which the two ladies stood to Mr. Freeman, as they called Marlborough.

This was an anxious and painful time for both clergy and people. Parliament passed an act providing that whenever William should go out of England it would be lawful for Mary to administer the government in his name and her own. During his absence he would retain all his authority. His Irish prospects were hopeful; his activity in urging forward his preparations for war had produced an extraordinary effect; abundant supplies of food, clothing and medicine were sent across the Channel; 1,000 baggage waggons were sent; the road between London and Chester being for some weeks covered with them, and before the end of May the English troops in Ulster numbered 30,000. The following ordinance, on behalf of the Presbyterian clergy, was issued by Parliament:—

EDINBURGH, *25th April*, 1690.

The King and Queen, with advice and consent of the Estates of Parliament, ordain and appoint that all Presbyterian ministers, still alive, who were thrust from their charges since 1st January, 1661, or banished for not conforming to prelacy, have forthwith free access to their churches, that they may presently exercise the ministry in these parishes without any new call thereto, and allow them to occupy and enjoy the benefices and stipends thereof, and that for crop 1689; and immediately to enter the churches and manses where churches are vacant. Where they are not vacant, their entry is declared to be to the half of the benefice and stipend, due at Michaelmas last for the half-year immediately preceding, declaring that the present incumbent shall have right to the other half payable for Whitsunday last by-past. That these

ministers may encounter no hindrance on entering immediately to their charges, the present incumbents are hereby ordained to desist from their ministry in these parishes, and to remove from the manses and glebes betwixt this and Whitsunday next, that the Presbyterian ministers may enter peaceably; and appoint the Privy Council to see this act put in execution.

At this meeting of the Scottish Parliament, one of the first measures adopted was the repeal of the Act of Supremacy which, investing the sovereign with the power of judging in all matters ecclesiastical as well as civil, had been the source of sorrow, perplexity and suffering to the Presbyterians for more than a quarter of a century. It is alleged by Burnet that William had not authorised Melville to give his sanction to the abrogation of this act, being afraid that his influence over the Church might be too much circumscribed, and that his authority even in civil matters might suffer some damage; but the opposition to the existing law was so strongly expressed that the commissioner had to yield to it, and the act of abrogation received the Royal assent. At this Parliament the Presbyterian Church was once more recognised as the national Church; and although Episcopalians were admitted, not only as members but even as office-bearers, no forms of procedure were introduced inconsistent with the principles of Presbytery. The fact that at this period the General Assembly could neither appoint its own meetings, nor adjourn without the sanction of the King, is sufficient to refute the allegation that the Church was possessed of complete spiritual independence.

It was impossible for William to restore law and order all at once, after twenty-eight years of misrule by Charles II. and his brother James. It is evident from the records of the period that it was no uncommon thing for the lieges to take the law into their own hands. The following incident is an illustration:—One day, in

the spring of 1690, as the tenants of Robert Johnstone of Lockerbie were engaged in their usual avocation of working their land, his daughter-in-law, Margaret Johnstone (widow of his eldest son), and her accomplices came upon them, loosed the horses from the ploughs, cut the harness and beat the workmen. In June thereafter some of Margaret's friends, headed by David Carlyle and his sons, made a personal assault on Mrs. Johnstone, wife of the laird. The poor lady was dreadfully hurt, while her friend, Mrs. Hill, was run through the thigh with a sword. Janet Geddes, a servant, was also assaulted by the Carlyles, pulled to the ground by the hair of her head, beaten and wounded, and nearly choked with a horn snuff-box which they endeavoured to force down her throat. Walter, brother of Margaret, and some accomplices had gone at night to Netherplace, broke in and beat the overseer, Mungo Johnstone, in an outrageous manner, besides squeezing the hands of his son till blood sprang below his nails. This unlawful proceeding came before the Privy Council by complaints from both parties, when the explanation appeared to be that Margaret Johnstone had by her father-in-law been kept out of her rights at her husband's death.[1]

James, who was in Ireland pushing his own interest, applied to the French King again for assistance, and upwards of 7,000 troops were sent over to him. William now prepared to take his departure for Ireland. Mary was deeply concerned and in grief, and her distress affected him. He knew she would be surrounded with difficulties which her habits had not qualified her to deal with. She would be in constant need of wise counsel, but he was surrounded by those whose political and personal animosities had too often made both their abilities and their virtues useless to him; and finally, Shrewsbury, his Secretary of State, resigned and went over to James. William then appointed nine Privy Councillors, consisting of

[1] Chambers.

four Whigs and five Tories, by whose advice Queen Mary was to be guided in his absence. He ordered these to attend at the office of the Secretary of State. When they were assembled, he came, leading in the Queen, and said to them: "The Queen wants experience, but I hope that by choosing you to be her counsellors I have supplied that defect. I put my kingdom into your hands; nothing foreign or domestic shall be kept secret from you; I implore you to be diligent and to be united."[1] Marlborough was to be her guide in military affairs and to command the troops in England. On the day before William's departure, he called Burnet into his closet, and in firm but mournful language spoke of the dangers which on every side menaced the realm, of the fury of the contending factions, and of the evil spirit which seemed to possess too many of the clergy. "But my trust is in God; I will go through with my work or perish in it; only I cannot help feeling for the poor Queen. If you love me, wait on her often and give her what help you can; as for me, I should enjoy the prospect of being on horseback and under canvas again. I am sure I am fitter to direct a campaign than to manage the Houses of Parliament. Though I know that I am in the path of duty, it is hard on my wife that her father and I must be opposed to each other in the field; God grant that no harm may happen to him. Let me have your prayers, doctor." Burnet retired, greatly moved, and doubtless put up, with no common fervour, those prayers for which his master had called.[2] On the following day, 4th June, William set out for Ireland, and on the 11th embarked at Chester and was conveyed across the Channel by a squadron of warships. The Queen on that day took up her residence at Whitehall Palace and assumed the reins of government. The King was absent three months, and during that period the Queen

[1] Lowther in Mackintosh MSS.

[2] Burnet, vol ii., p. 46.

wrote him every second or third day. Many of the letters will be found in Strickland's "Queens of England," vol. ii.

These letters are too numerous for our limits, but they manifest the real character of the Queen, and show her in her best light. They also convey a very good estimate of her administrative ability. Although the King provided her with a Privy Council before he left, yet she administered many of the duties of the State according to her own judgment, and without consulting her Council In this she manifested the traditions of her Royal ancestors. The answers to these interesting letters, from the King, have not been preserved; it is supposed she destroyed them before her death.

It is said that Jacobitism was, in 1690, so prevalent in everyday life that it was a common occurrence to see a messenger enter a house or theatre, or even Hyde Park, show a Privy Council warrant to some gallant gentleman fashionably dressed, and march him off as he was, from among a circle of belles, to the Tower. If not seriously implicated in any of the numerous plots then being concocted, he was let out after some weeks' detention, and on payment of £200 for fees and expenses.[1]

The Queen kept a lively Court during these three months, and was indefatigable in giving balls at Whitehall during the King's absence.[2]

It was on the 26th June, less than a fortnight after he sailed for Ireland, that a French fleet, commanded by Tourville, entered the British Channel and proceeded slowly along the south coast of England. The appearance of the fleet aroused great suspicions of treachery, and the Queen got alarmed. She and her Council hastened to take steps for the defence of the country, and both an English and Dutch squadron were called out. Her Council thought it necessary to make some

[1] Lampoons were then common, *e.g.*:

There's Mary the daughter, there's Willy the cheater,
There's Geordie the drinker, there's Anne the eater.

[2] Strictland.

arrests of persons of whose guilt the Government had proof. The Queen had scarcely ever opened her lips in council, but now, being possessed of proofs of her uncle's treason,[1] she said to them: "I know, and everybody here knows as well as I, that there is too much against my Lord Clarendon to leave him out." Clarendon and other Jacobites were that evening arrested and put in the Tower. The incident, compromising, as it does, Admiral Herbert, Earl of Torrington, a faithful follower of William, is insufficiently recorded, and precludes us from expressing any opinion. Torrington, First Lord of the Admiralty, commanded the British fleet, and it would appear he was instructed by the Privy Council to give battle immediately. It was afterwards resolved to send Russell and Monmouth to direct operations; but too late, as Torrington acted promptly on receipt of instructions. His direction of this incident has been adversely criticised. It is said he made his plans in such a manner that the danger and loss might fall almost exclusively on the Dutch. They were so unpopular that the destruction of their squadron was likely to cause fewer murmurs than the capture of one of our own frigates. This opinion we cannot accept. On 30th June Torrington bore down on the French fleet and placed his vessels in order of battle. He had not sixty sail of the line, while the French had eighty. He placed the Dutch in the van, and gave them the signal to engage. For some hours the Dutch maintained the unequal contest with very little assistance from Torrington. At last the Dutch admiral drew off; his ships which had come out of the fight were in a lamentable condition. Torrington then took to flight, took refuge in the Thames, ordered all the barges to be pulled up, and made the navigation so dangerous that the pursuers could not venture to follow him. Such was the discreditable English defeat known as Beachy Head, which in London created much indignation,

[1] Clarendon.

and which the French regarded as a great victory. The Queen set about heroically to defend the capital, and was supported by the Privy Council and the Londoners.

All distinction of party disappeared. Shrewsbury, notwithstanding his treachery, offered his purse and sword to the Queen; Torrington was arrested and put in the Tower. Three days afterwards London threw off its indignation and the bells rang merrily, a courier having arrived at Whitehall with great news from Ireland. When William caught sight of the valley of the Boyne he could not suppress an explanation of delight. All the southern bank of the river was lined by the camp and batteries of the Jacobite army: armed men, allies of the Jacobites, were moving about among the tents, each having a white badge on his hat in compliment to the house of Stuart. James, standing on the defensive behind entrenchments, with a river before him, had the stronger position. His troops were inferior, both in number and quality, to those opposed to them. He had about 30,000 men, a third of whom were the French infantry and Irish cavalry; the remainder was an undisciplined mob. King William had 36,000, speaking various tongues, one-half being English. The Scots Guards were under the command of James Douglas; there were strong brigades of Dutch and Danish troops, and the Enniskillen dragoons under Sir Albert Conyngham. William alighted at a spot opposite Oldbridge, near Drogheda, sat down on the turf to rest himself, and called for breakfast; a table-cloth was spread on the grass, and the spot has since been marked by an obelisk. At breakfast he was observed by the enemy; two field pieces screened from view by a troop of cavalry were brought down almost to the brink of the river and placed behind a hedge. William, who was again in his saddle, was the mark of both guns; he was hit by a second ball, a six-pounder; it merely tore his coat, grazed his shoulder and drew a little blood. He sank down for a moment on his horse's neck. The Irish were in a state of exultation, thinking

they had mortally wounded him. A surgeon was sent for and put a plaster on the wound, and as soon as it was dressed William rode round all the posts of his army amid loud acclamation. He was that day nineteen hours on horseback; a cannonade was kept up on both sides till the evening. He gave orders that everything should be ready for forcing a passage across the river in the morning. Every soldier was to put a green bow on his hat; the word was "Westminster." Next morning the sun rose bright and cloudless, and at four o'clock both armies were in motion. William's chief officer and adviser was the Duke of Schomberg, a veteran of great military experience. William ordered his right wing, under the command of Meinhart, one of Schomberg's sons, to march to the bridge of Slane, some miles up the river, cross there, and turn the left flank of the Irish. There they met a regiment of James's dragoons commanded by Sir Neil O'Neil. O'Neil received a mortal wound, his men fled, and the English right wing passed over. William put himself at the head of his left wing, which was composed exclusively of cavalry, and prepared to cross the river near Drogheda. The centre of his army composed of foot was entrusted to Schomberg. Schomberg gave the word; Count Solmes, at the head of the Dutch troops, was the first to move. They marched gallantly, the drums beating, to the brink of the Boyne, then the drums stopped and the men, ten abreast, descended into the water. Count Caillemote, at the head of a long column of French refugees under William, crossed not far from the same spot. Count Caillemote, while encouraging his fellow-exiles, received a mortal wound in the thigh; four of his men carried him back across the field to his tent. As he passed he continued to urge forward the rear ranks, which were still up to the breast in water: "On, on, my lads; to glory! to glory!" Schomberg, who had remained on the northern bank and had watched the progress of his troops, now thought his personal exertion was required. Those

who stood about him requested him to put on his cuirass (shield or breast-plate), but in vain. Without defensive armour he rode through the river and rallied the refugees whom the fall of Caillemote had dismayed. "Come on!" he cried in French, pointing to the Popish squadron; "come on, gentlemen! there are your persecutors!" These were his last words; as he spoke a band of Irish horsemen rushed upon him and encircled him for a moment; when they retired he was on the ground; his friends raised him, but he was dead; two sabre wounds were on his head, and a bullet from a carbine was lodged in his neck. Walker, the heroic governor of Londonderry, while exhorting the Ulster men was also shot dead. At this juncture William came up with his left wing. He had found much difficulty in crossing the river on account of the tide. His horse had been forced to swim and had been almost lost in the mud. As soon as he was on firm ground he took his sword in his left hand, for his right was stiff with the wound and bandaged, and led his men to the place where the fight was hottest. His approach decided the fate of the day.

On the morning of 6th July he rode in great state to Dublin Cathedral, and there, with the crown on his head, William returned thanks to God for his victory. A post from Ireland informed the Queen that the King was wounded. Nottingham was called out of bed. She was trembling with emotion, and had scarcely finished a letter to William, when another post arrived with the news of his victory. She was uneasy until Nottingham assured her that James was also safe. On the same day she wrote her husband to see that no harm befel her father: "I know I need not beg you to let him be taken care of, for I am confident that you will for your own sake, yet add that to all your kindness, and for my sake, let people know that you would have no hurt happen to his person."[1] James was well able to take care of himself. On 10th July he arrived in France,

[1] Burnet, vol. ii., p. 55.

and was cordially received by the French King. We should have thought that James had had enough of war, but the first thing he proposed was that the French King should enable him to make an immediate descent on England, as on account of Ireland he had only 7,000 or 8,000 soldiers left. The French King, however, declined the proposal.

At this period took place the memorable siege of Limerick, which began on 11th August, 1690. After a three weeks' siege William, owing to the desperate resistance of Colonel Sarsfield, the Governor, was defeated, and lost 1,200 men. He raised the siege, and an armistice, which resulted in the Treaty of Limerick, was duly arranged. On 5th September William departed for England.

After the return of the Prince of Orange the Scottish Parliament met at Edinburgh. William found it no easy matter to decide what course should be taken with that capricious and unruly assembly. Scots politicians and members of Parliament did not stand high in his estimation. The Duke of Hamilton was in morality and honour rather above than below his fellows, although he was fickle, false and greedy. William was once provoked into exclaiming: "I wish to heaven that Scotland were 1,000 miles off, and that the Duke of Hamilton were King of it; then I should be rid of them both." Melville attended as Lord High Commissioner. This Parliament ordained that Presbyterian clergy ejected after the restoration for refusing to acknowledge Episcopal authority should be restored. The original number of these had been 350, but now only 60 were living. The Estates then proceeded to fix the National Creed. The Confession of Faith drawn up by the assembly of divines at Westminster, the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, and the Directory, were considered the standards. The Confession was read at length amid much yawning, and adopted without alteration; but the others, Hamilton intimated, might well be left to the Church.

Early in October, 1690, William held a Parliament at Westminster. His speech from the throne called forth loud acclamation in view of his successful Irish campaign. Thanks were voted for his brilliant achievements, and to the Queen for the prudence with which she had, during his absence, governed England. War supplies were at once granted, and the regular troops for next year fixed at 70,000. The annual cost of this was two and a quarter millions sterling, and the Navy one and three-quarter millions.[1] The Queen, during the year 1690, framed regulations for the better observance of the Sabbath. Hackney carriages and horses were forbidden. She also stationed constables at the corners of the streets who were to capture puddings and pies on the way to bakers' ovens on Sundays ; but such scenes took place on the streets, in consequence of the owners fighting for their dinners, that the law had to be suspended ; she suspended the Habeas Corpus Act. The Tower and other prisons were full of captives seized on the authority of her signature only. She showed at this crisis as valiant a spirit as her most renowned ancestors, while she at the same time acted with decision. She reviewed in person the London and Westminster trained bands of militia, and she banished Roman Catholics from the vicinity of the Metropolis. She, single-handed, wielded the sceptre for the chief part of the six years that she was Queen of Great Britain. William, excepting his first year, was seldom resident more than four months together in England, and would scarcely have tarried for that time but for the purpose of inducing Parliament to advance money to support his wars with France.

On the last night of the year, Preston, Ashton and Elliot, three Jacobite emissaries who had embarked in secret for France with important despatches for James, were followed, seized, and put in the Tower. On 6th January, 1691, the King expressed his gratitude to Parliament for their support. He alluded to the

[1] Commons' Journals.

Jacobite plot which had just been discovered, and thereafter adjourned both Houses. Next day he set out, accompanied by an escort of nobles, for the Congress at The Hague. He got a great reception; all the vehicles and horses of the province were too few for the multitude who went to the show; 1,600 burghers, armed and clad in the finest dresses, kept order in the streets; balconies and scaffolds, embowered in evergreen and hung with tapestry, hid the windows. The Royal carriage, escorted by an army of halberdiers and running footmen, followed by a long train of equipages, passed under numerous arches rich with carving and painting, amidst shouts of "Long live the King, our Stadtholder." When night came, fireworks were exhibited in the great tank which washes the walls of the palace of the Federation. This congress was a brilliant function. William returned to England for adminstrative reasons, and ordained the Jacobite bishops to leave their benefices in order that their successors might take possession. This was attended with much trouble.

On 1st February, 1691, Mary ordered Sancroft, the Archbishop, to quit Lambeth Palace, but he refused. Sancroft, however, packed up his books and prepared for the worst. Dr. Tillotson's kindness to William and Mary on their marriage tour was never forgotten, and he was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in place of Sancroft.

On 3rd April following, Whitehall Palace was on fire, and a large portion burned to the ground, but not the whole. Queen Mary, who was a heavy sleeper, nearly lost her life in the flames. She was dragged, half asleep, in her night-dress, into St. James's Park. It was on this occasion that Sir John Fenwick and his companions, leaders of the Jacobite party, grossly insulted the Queen and followed her through the park to St. James's reviling her. For this Fenwick was afterwards executed. Sancroft was on 23rd June forcibly expelled from Lambeth by the Queen's

emissaries, and he retired and ended his days in his native village in Suffolk.

In May following, William again set out for the Continent, where he was idolised by the civil and military population of Holland. He remained there five months, and in the middle of October returned to Kensington; three days later he opened Parliament. The Commons sent up to the Lords a bill providing that no person should sit in the Irish Parliament or hold any Irish office, civil, military or ecclesiastical, or should practice law or medicine in Ireland, till he had taken the oath of allegiance. The Lords and Commons almost simultaneously moved that an address be presented to the Queen at Whitehall thanking her for her prudence in the administration of the Government in the King's absence. The Lords' address was written by Dr. Tillotson:—"As your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lords spiritual and temporal, in Parliament assembled, from a true sense of the quiet and happiness the nation hath enjoyed by your Majesty's administration in the King's absence, do hold ourselves obliged to present our humble acknowledgments to your Majesty for your prudent conduct, to the universal satisfaction, as well as the security of the King."

The estates of Duncan Forbes of Culloden, in various parishes near Inverness, having been much wasted in 1689 and 1690 by the ravages of the King's enemies and the support of his troops, in 1691 Forbes presented to the Crown a petition for damages. Parliament recommended his case to the King, and Forbes was awarded a perpetual privilege of distilling from the grain raised on his estate of Ferintosh 1,800 acres, upon paying a small excise duty. To Forbes this was a fortune.

Marlborough, who was a supporter of James rather than William, organised a plot of some magnitude for the restoration of James. He was no friend of the Dutch people. The plot, however, in due time was

disclosed to Portland, William's friend. William was much annoyed and alarmed, but the plot collapsed. On 10th January, 1692, it was Marlborough's duty to fulfil his duties as one of the Lords of the bedchamber to William. After he had done his duty for the morning, Lord Nottingham, on one occasion, was sent to inform him that the King had no further use for his services, and that he was commanded to dispose of all his offices, and forbidden the Court. Marlborough was a Jacobite, and was in correspondence with the ex-King, and William discovered this. This was the beginning of the quarrel between Mary and Anne.

The Queen had a painful explanation with the Princess Anne, respecting her foolish connection with the Marlboroughs. Though William assigned no reason for exercising his prerogative by dismissing Marlborough, the Princess Anne had been informed of the truth, and it had been left to her to judge whether Marlborough, who was guilty of treason, was a fit occupant of the palace. Three weeks passed, and still Lady Marlborough maintained her post and apartments at Whitehall, and her husband resided with her. At length Lady Marlborough, emboldened by patience, determined to brave the situation, and one evening accompanied her mistress, the Princess Anne, to the drawing-room at Kensington, the King and Queen being present. Nothing was said that night, but on the following day a letter from the Queen was delivered to Anne. The Queen declared she was unwilling to give pain to her sister whom she loved, but this was a serious matter: Lady Marlborough must be dismissed; "while she lived at Whitehall her lord would live there; was it proper that a man in his situation should make the palace of his injured master his home? Yet so unwilling was His Majesty to deal severely with the worst offenders, that even this had been borne, and might have been borne longer had not Anne brought the Countess to defy the King and Queen in their own

presence chamber; it was unkind in her sister; it would have been uncivil in an equal, and I need not say that I have more to claim; seeing that you brought Lady Marlborough hither last night, makes us resolve to put it off no longer, but tell you she must not stay, and that I have all the reason imaginable to look upon your bringing her as the strangest thing that ever was done." Anne, in reply, did not attempt to excuse Marlborough, but expressed a firm conviction that his wife was innocent, and implored the Queen not to insist on separating: "There is no misery I cannot resolve to suffer rather than the thought of parting from her." Anne sent for her uncle Rochester and implored him to carry her letter to Kensington, and advocate her cause, but he declined to do so. The letter was sent by a servant, and the only reply was a message from the Lord Chamberlain ordering Lady Marlborough to leave the palace. The Princess Anne and her family thereupon removed to Sion House, belonging to the Duke of Somerset, and situated on the margin of the Thames. The Queen intimated to all her courtiers, both lords and ladies, that those who went to Sion House would not be received at Court. In London the Princess Anne occupied Berkeley House, Piccadilly, now the site of Devonshire House; her guard of honour was taken away; the foreign ministers ceased to wait upon her. When she went to Bath, the Secretary of State wrote to request the Mayor not to receive her with the ceremonial with which Royal visitors were usually welcomed. When she attended divine service at St. James's Chapel, the rector was forbidden to show her the customary marks of respect, to bow to her from the pulpit, or to send a copy of his text to be laid on her cushion. In this unfortunate quarrel, the Princess Anne was undoubtedly in the wrong, while her treatment by the King and Queen was probably more exacting than the circumstances warranted. Mary's position was peculiarly embarrassing con-

sidering the relations between her husband and her father, but all through her married life her conduct was guided by great wisdom and prudence. The Princess Anne was her inferior in mental qualifications. In her letters to Lady Marlborough she expressed her sentiments about this quarrel in the style of a fish-woman, railed at the whole Dutch nation, and called her brother-in-law sometimes the abortion, sometimes the monster.[1] The nation heard nothing of her language, and saw nothing of her deportment, but what was decorous and submissive.

The General Assembly met in January, 1692. The Earl of Lothian, the High Commissioner, produced a letter from the King, in which the ministers were blamed for continuing to exclude the Episcopalians from all share in the rule of the Church; and he instructed them to admit to a seat in their Presbyteries those of that body who should sign the Confession of Faith and promise to submit to the Church's authority. The Commissioner dissolved the Assembly; to meet again in August, 1693. Much dissatisfaction was expressed at this arrogant procedure.

The turbulent and distracted condition of the Highlands attracted William's notice. John Campbell, first Earl of Breadalbane, a strong Jacobite, had very considerable influence at that period, and notwithstanding his predilections, he was commissioned to treat with the Jacobite chiefs. It was resolved to spend a large sum of money in this pacification. The Earl invited the chiefs to a conference at his residence in Glenorchy, and did everything in his power to induce them to lay down their arms.

The Camerons and Macdonalds were at war with Argyll and no arrangement to which Argyll was not a party could produce tranquillity. Every chief wanted a larger share of the English gold than could be obtained. It is said that no Celtic chief was so impracticable as Macdonald of Glencoe. His vassals numbered about

[1] Burnet.

200. The Earl's property had suffered greatly from these depredations, and he was not in a temper to forgive them. At this conference he demanded satisfaction from Macdonald for the herds of cattle he had carried away. Macdonald, fearing some outrage, was glad to retire from the conference, and got safe back to his own glen, but his pride was wounded. It was his interest that the country should be in an unsettled state, as he lived by pillage; he did his best to dissuade his allies from accepting terms.[1] The authorities at Edinburgh issued a proclamation on 27th August, exhorting the clans to submit to William and Mary, and offering pardon to all rebels who, up to 31st December, 1691, should take the oath of allegiance. Those who should hold out after that date would be treated as enemies and traitors. On 31st December Macdonald had not come in: on that day he and some of his vassals went to Fort William to take the oath, but nobody was there to take it, nor was there anyone nearer than Inverary. In great distress he set out for Inverary, eighty miles distant; he carried a letter from Colonel Hill, governor of Fort William, to Colin Campbell, Sheriff of the county, recommending that though past the date Macdonald's oath should be accepted. The journey over the hills was a dangerous one in the depth of winter; he did not arrive at Inverary till 6th January. The Sheriff, though reluctant, administered the oath, and a certificate was sent to Edinburgh stating the circumstances. Macdonald not having submitted in the prescribed time afforded joy to Argyll, Breadalbane, and the Master of Stair, who were all in London; these two chiefs were at deadly feud with Macdonald. Stair was much disappointed that Macdonald had taken the oath, but Argyll told him it was not taken in the prescribed time, and that satisfied him so far. The certificate given by the Sheriff of Argyll, Stair never produced. It was said that Stair's father, the President of the Court of Session,

[1] Report of Commissioners, written by Stair and signed at Holyrood, 1695.

declared it to be illegal, and it was cancelled. The cruelty of this is beyond words to express. Stair then put an order for the massacre before the King for signature. It was duly signed, along with other papers, the King not having read one of them. The historian[1] adds, a document relating to a small tribe of mountaineers living in a wilderness not set down on any map was least likely to interest a sovereign whose mind was full of schemes on which the fate of Europe might depend. The order ran thus: "As for Macdonald of Glencoe and that tribe, if they can be well distinguished from the other Highlanders, it will be proper for the vindication of public justice to extirpate that set of thieves." This does not mean that every thief ought to be treacherously assassinated in his sleep, or even that every thief ought to be publicly executed after a fair trial, but that every gang ought to be broken up, and that whatever severity was necessary for this end ought to be used. Stair's plan was different; his design was to butcher the whole race of thieves, "the whole damnable race," as he called them. If possible the blow, in his opinion, must be quick, crushing, and unexpected; every way of escape to be barred, and the Pass of Rannoch secured; this he said was the time "to maul the wretches." It was resolved that the Glencoe men should perish, not by allowing them to defend themselves, but by the cowardly form of assassination. On 1st February, 1692, 120 soldiers of Argyll's regiment, commanded by Campbell and Lindsay, marched to Glencoe. This was Campbell of Glenlyon, said to be a bold, bloody and crafty man, and well qualified for his job. His niece was married toAlexander, second son of Macdonald. At the sight of the soldiers in the glen, John Macdonald, eldest son of the chief, accompanied by twenty clansmen, went to meet them and ask what there visit meant. Lindsay said they came as friends and wanted nothing but quarters. This was false. They were kindly

[1] Macaulay.

received and hospitably accommodated; for twelve days the soldiers lived on the hospitality of the clan. The officers spent much of their time with Macdonald and his family, food and whisky being abundantly supplied. Colonel Hamilton, acting under peremptory instructions from the Master of Stair, Secretary of State for Scotland, fixed five o'clock on the morning of the 13th February, for the deed.

The brutal massacre took place on that morning when, it is said in the official report, thirty-eight persons were shot dead, some of them in bed; but that number is probably understated. On account of the sequestered situation of Glencoe, and its great distance from centres of population, it was a considerable time before this outrage was known; and some months before the Government knew the details. Years elapsed before public indignation was thoroughly awakened. It was two months after the event before any public notice of it appeared anywhere, and that was in the *Paris Gazette* of 7th April, from their Edinburgh correspondent. When the massacre was communicated to Stair he was mortified by the blunders of Hamilton in not having his men up to time, and "by the escape of so many of the damnable breed." "Can there," he said, "be a more sacred duty than to rid the country of thieves? The only thing that I regret is that so many got away."[1] So far from punishing Stair, the King gave him on the issue of this report a full remission, and conferred on him the teinds of the parish where his principal lands were. The certificate of the Sheriff of Argyll that Macdonald had taken the oath, and the circulating of that document by Stair, cannot be called circumstances of suspicion; but Stair's conduct and general management of this affair constitutes a crime for which posterity will condemn him, as being solely responsible and guilty; and this event will always remain a black spot on his administrative career. No one who studies the circumstances would blame King William for the com-

[1] Official Report.

mission of the deed ; he was acting under the advice of Stair, but he was to blame for not sufficiently punishing those who were responsible, when the circumstances were put before him. It is noticeable that Melville at this date resigned his office of Lord High Commissioner, and Sir John Dalrymple, Master of Stair, was appointed in his place. On account of his connection with the Glencoe massacre this appointment was disapproved. Melville's resignation was very probably intended to mark his dissatisfaction of Stair's conduct. The massacre was universally condemned, and had it occurred a century later Stair would have paid the penalty with his life. He was Lord Advocate of Scotland, and a Secretary of State, but in 1695 was deposed from these offices because of his conduct respecting Glencoe ; he was by Queen Anne restored to favour, appointed a member of her Privy Council, and in 1703 created first Earl of Stair. On 6th March William, doubtless still ignorant of the massacre, embarked for the Continent, leaving his wife to govern in his absence. Yielding to the importunity of James, the French King agreed to send an expedition against England. In connection with it James issued one of his characteristic declarations, said to have been written by Melfort, in which he pointed out what he meant to do when he returned to the throne. Instead of assuring his people of his forgiveness he menaced them for their faults as bitterly as ever ; he gave a list of those who had no mercy to expect, and consequently who would be executed, which included the Earls of Ormond, Carmarthen and Nottingham, Tillotson the Primate, and Burnet the historian. Burnet had proposed a clause in the Bill of Right against the King marrying a Catholic. Then came all the rustics who had been rude to him on the river when he made his escape. These poor creatures, some hundreds in number, were to be reserved for another bloody circuit. Then came those who had in any manner borne a part in the punishment of any Jacobite conspirator, judge, juryman, witnesses, etc.

If James were restored these men might prepare for the gallows. That some hundreds of people—the Jacobites put it at 500—were to be hanged without mercy was certain, and no one who concurred in the Revolution could be certain that he would escape execution. If at the very moment when he had the strongest motives for trying to conciliate the people by a show of clemency he could not bring himself to hold towards them any language but that of an enemy, what was to be expected from him if he should be again their master? So savage was his nature, that in a situation in which all other tyrants had resorted to fair promises, he could utter nothing but reproaches and threats. The Queen and her ministers at Whitehall, instead of attempting to suppress this manifesto, reprinted it, and sent it forth licensed by the Secretary of State, interspersed by remarks of a severe critic. It was caricatured and turned into doggerel, and was long the subject of parody. No one read the declaration with more surprise and anger than Russell, the man who was meant to command James's Channel Fleet, but who commanded that of William.

On 19th May, 1692, and four following days, took place the naval battle of La Hogue between the French and Irish navies on behalf of James, commanded by Tourville, and the English commanded by Russell for William and Mary. Russell was a man of great energy; he visited all his ships on the eve of the battle, and exhorted his crews: "If your commanders play false, overboard with them." Admiral Carter was the first English officer who fell; sixteen French warships were burned or sunk; after five days fighting the French and Irish troops were defeated. The news of this victory was received in England with great rejoicings, and for some days the bells of London pealed without ceasing. There were flags with staples and rows of candles in all the windows. Sidney and Portland were sent to meet the fleet at Portsmouth, accompanied by Rochester. These lords took with them £37,000 in

coin to distribute among the sailors ; also gold medals for the officers. This great naval victory put a stop to any more of James's invasions.

It was on this occasion that the Queen declared in her husband's name that the building commenced by Charles II. should be completed, and should be a retreat for seamen disabled in the service of their country. This became Greenwich Hospital.

Following on the naval battle of La Hogue came the battle of Steinkirk (Germany), fought in 1692 between William, at the head of the English and Dutch troops, and the Duke of Luxemburg, Commander-in-Chief of the Irish and French and allied forces. The English were commanded by Count Solmes, on behalf of King William, and to this officer's incapacity is due the loss of the battle ; the English were defeated. It was fought with determined courage on both sides, and great loss of life. The killed, wounded and prisoners have been estimated at 7,000 on each side. General Mackay, who fought at Killiecrankie, fell on this occasion. It is said that he and his gallant regiment, who attacked the Swiss contingent, killed 18,000 of them. William did not return to London till 18th October, when he called a meeting of Parliament and delivered a well-framed speech for the purposes of conciliation, congratulating them on the victory of La Hogue.

James, after seeing the fleet which was to have conveyed him back to his kingdom, burned down to the water-edge, had returned in no good humour to St. Germains. He had a pension of £40,000 per annum out of the French Treasury, and he had a guard of honour composed of some of the finest soldiers in Europe. If he wished to amuse himself with field sports he had at his command an establishment more sumptuous than he had in England, an army of huntsmen and fowlers, an arsenal of guns, spears, bugle-horns and tents, miles of network, staghounds, fox-hounds, harriers, parks for the boar and for the wolf, falcons for the heron and haggards for the wild duck.

His presence chamber and ante-chamber were as splendid as Whitehall, and he was still surrounded by blue ribbon and white staves. His palace wore the aspect of a monastery: there were three places of worship; and thirty or forty ecclesiastics lived in the building. Anthony Hamilton, a writer of the time, complained that existence there was simply one round of religious exercises, that in order to live in peace it was necessary to spend half the day in devotion or in outward show of it; that if he tried to dissipate his melancholy by breathing the fresh air of that noble terrace which looks down on the Seine, he was driven away by the clamour of a Jesuit who had got hold of some unfortunate Royalists from England, and was proving to them that no heretic could go to heaven. All the saints of the Royal household were praying for each other, and backbiting with each other from morning to night. Here and there in the throng of hypocrites might be remarked a man too high-spirited to dissemble. Such was the Court of James as described by a Catholic.

Lady Stair, a woman of great shrewdness and energy of character, died in 1693. The public believed that she possessed necromatic gifts, and trafficked with Satan. An order, which she left at her death regarding the disposal of her body, helped to confirm this belief. She desired that she might not be put under ground, but her coffin should stand upright on one end, promising that while she remained in that position the Dalrymples should continue to flourish. Her coffin, it is said, stands upright to this day in the vault of the church of Kirkliston, the burying-place of the family. This story may be regarded as a fable. Some time ago, when the vault in Kirkliston Church was opened, there was no such thing as a coffin standing upright.

Graham of Claverhouse was appointed Sheriff of Wigtownshire in 1682. On one occasion, when he was denouncing John Knox in Lady Stair's presence, she said: "Why are you so severe on Knox? You are

both reformers; he gained his point by clavers; you attempt to gain yours by knocks."[1]

After completing some changes in his administration the King, on 24th March, 1693, again set out for the Continent. He also ordained a meeting of the Scottish Parliament to be held under the presidency of Hamilton, his High Commissioner. At this Parliament it was ordained that no person should be admitted as a member of the Church till he should first take the oath of allegiance, subscribe the Confession of Faith, and conform to the worship and discipline established by law. On account of the King's absence this assembly was prorogued till March, 1694. By the mediation of Carstares, Principal of Edinburgh University, and Chaplain to William and Mary, the General Assembly was authorised to admit to all the privileges of the National Church those of the Episcopal clergy who would sign the Confession only, and who would acknowledge the Presbyterian government of the Church in Scotland, and undertake to submit to it.[2]

On 28th April, 1693, Parliament ordained that absent member sbe fined £600 Scots, their places declared vacant, and orders issued for new elections.

In 1694 a Whig Ministry was formed by William, when the Earls of Bedford and Devonshire were made Dukes, and Carmarthen made Duke of Leeds. The King thereafter went to the Continent, France and Spain being at war. He, in order to cross the designs of the enemy, resolved to send Russell to the Mediterranean with the greater part of the English and Dutch fleets. Tollemache, on behalf of William, was to embark on board this fleet with troops, and was to attack Brest. On 6th June the fleet was on the Atlantic; Russell and Berkeley, William's two strongest men, accompanied it; Russell went to the Mediterranean, Berkeley to the coast of Brittany, and anchored close to the mouth of Brest harbour. Tollemache and his troops

[1] Memoir of John, Earl of Stair; Murray's Hist. of Galloway.
[2] Brown's History.

landed on the beach; a terrible fire mowed down his men faster than they could get ashore. The French were strongly entrenched in the vicinity. Tollemache received a mortal wound in the thigh from a cannon-ball, and died almost immediately. His troops re-embarked in confusion; his fleet made haste to get out of the way, but did not succeed until 499 marines and 700 soldiers had fallen.

WILLIAM III.

Prince of Orange.

(From a Portrait by Kneller in the Collection of the Duke of Portland at Welbeck Abbey.)

CHAPTER XII.

Livingstone and the Widow of Claverhouse—Death of Queen Mary—Bill of Right and the Succession—Somers appointed Lord Chancellor — Tweeddale, Lord High Commissioner — Order to investigate Glencoe Massacre—Report, and censure of Stair—William at Lincoln Cathedral and Oxford—Plot for his assassination — Conspirators arrested and executed — Meeting of Parliament, 1696—Sir John Fenwick and the King — Portland appointed French Ambassador — Triennial Parliament, 1698—Trial and dismissal of Somers—Address of Perth Corporation—Parliament of 1701—General Assembly of 1702—Death of King William—Review of his character and reign.

REIGN OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

A.D. 1688—1702.

AT this period is announced the release from prison, where he had been for seven years, a member of the Livingstone family, William Livingstone of Kilsyth, on the stipulation that he should leave the kingdom. He would appear to have married Jean Cochran of the Ochiltree family, widow of John Graham of Claverhouse, and accompanied by her he went to Rotterdam. Livingstone was of the same family as General Livingstone, who defeated the Jacobites this year at Cromdale. He met this lady at Colzium, near Kilsyth, the family residence, and it is recorded presented her with a gold ring, which unfortunately she lost next day while walking in the garden. Attending one day divine service in Utrecht, Mr. Robert Fleming, the minister, declared during the service that he was impressed with the thought that an appalling accident was within a few hours to befal some of the audience.[1] The same afternoon Livingstone, his wife, and another

[1] Wodrow.

gentleman went into the room where their child lay, with its nurse, when suddenly the roof, which was thickly covered with turf, fell down and buried the whole party. Livingstone and his friend got out alive after three-quarters of an hour, but the lady, the nurse and child were found dead. The bodies of mother and child were embalmed and sent to Scotland.[1] Much interest was felt a century after (1795), when it was announced that the body of this unfortunate lady and her babe had been found in perfect preservation in the Livingstone vault in Kilsyth Church. Some idle boys had found their way into the vault, tore up the lead coffin, and found a fresh one of fir within, enclosing the two bodies, embalmed, and looking as fresh as if they were only asleep. The year after this discovery a tenant of Colzium garden, digging potatoes, found the long-lost ring; within its plain hoop was inscribed a posy exactly such as the circumstances would have called for, "Yovrs onlly and euer." It was a pathetic story.

We now arrive at the greatest calamity which befel William during the whole course of his life, and that was the death of his devoted wife, the good Queen Mary, the most blameless sovereign who ever sat on the English throne. She was greatly beloved and esteemed by the nation. It would appear that on 18th November, 1694, when in Whitehall Chapel, Archbishop Tillotson, who was officiating before Her Majesty, was struck down with a paralytic stroke in the middle of the service, and he never spoke again. The shock to the Queen's nerves she never got over. In a week or two afterwards she was seized with what turned out to be an attack of malignant smallpox. When this fact was communicated to her, she ordered every lady of her bedchamber, maids of honour, and servants who had not had the disease, to leave Kensington instantly. She then burned her papers, arranged others, and calmly awaited her fate. The King remained night and day

[1] Analecta Scotiæ.

at her bedside. He ordered his camp-bed to be brought into the chamber and remained there till she died, and tasted no food the last three days of her life. The very domestics saw the tears running unchecked down that face of which the stern composure had seldom been disturbed by any triumph or any defeat; several of the clergy were in attendance. The King drew Burnet aside, and gave way to grief: "There is no hope," he said. "I was the happiest man on earth, and I am the most miserable. She had no fault—none. You know her well, but you could not know, nobody but myself could know, her goodness." Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, who succeeded Tillotson, undertook to tell her she was dying. Shortly before her death she called for her small cabinet in which her most important papers were locked up, gave orders that as soon as she was no more it should be delivered to the King; and then dismissed worldly affairs from her mind. After she had received the sacrament she sank rapidly; twice she tried to take farewell of her husband, but she was unable to speak. He had a succession of fits so alarming that his Privy Councillors, who were assembled in a neighbouring room, were apprehensive for his reason and his life. A few minutes before the Queen expired William was removed almost insensible from the sick-room. The Queen died at midnight on 28th December, 1694, in the sixth year of her reign, and thirty-third year of her age. Her regency lasted till 27th October, 1694. The public sorrow was great and general. Mary's blameless life, her large charities, her winning manners and unostentatious piety, together with her courage, ability and personal charm, had conquered the hearts of the people. When the Commons met next day they sat for a time in profound silence. An address of condolence to the King was then agreed to, and they adjourned. The Dutch envoy informed the States General that many of the members had handkerchiefs at their eyes. The mourning was universal. On the Sunday after her death her

virtues were celebrated in almost every parish church of London, and in almost every great meeting of Nonconformists.[1] The funeral was long remembered as the saddest and most august that Westminster had ever seen; the music on the occasion being specially composed by Purcell. While the remains lay in state at Whitehall, the neighbouring streets were filled every day, from sunrise to sunset, by crowds which made traffic impossible. In the funeral procession the two Houses, with their maces, followed the hearse, the Lords robed in scarlet and ermine, the Commons in long black mantles. No preceding sovereign had ever been attended to the grave by a Parliament; formerly Parliament had expired with the sovereign. The whole magistracy of the city swelled the procession. The banners of England and France, Scotland and Ireland, were carried by great nobles before the hearse. The pall was borne by the chiefs of the illustrious Houses of Howard, Seymour, Grey and Stanley; the bells of every parish church in England tolled. On the beautiful coffin of purple and gold were laid the crown and sceptre of the realm. Within the abbey, nave, choir and transept were in a blaze of wax lights; the body was placed under a magnificent canopy in the centre, while Tenison, the Archbishop, officiated. Through the whole ceremony the distant booming of cannon was heard every minute from the batteries of the Tower. The gentle Queen sleeps among her illustrious kindred in the southern aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel. A wax effigy of the Queen was placed on the coffin, dressed in robes of state and coloured to resembled life; after the funeral it was deposited in Westminster Abbey; also in due time that of her husband, after being in like manner carried at his funeral. These effigies, it is said, were of importance in assisting sculptors as to costume, proportions and appearance of deceased. The figure of the Queen was nearly six feet in height, her husband was less; the sceptre of sovereignty sur-

[1] Evelyn's Diary.

mounted by a *fleur-de-lis* and cross was in one hand, and the regnal globe in the other. The Scottish people, though she was personally a stranger to them, honoured her for her virtues, and mourned her death the more deeply because she was a Stuart. There is in the library of The Hague a superb English Bible which was delivered to her when she was crowned; on the title page are the words in her own handwriting: "This book was given to the King and I at our crownation. —Marie R."

Few letters of Queen Mary have been preserved, if we except those sent to her husband, but there are two in the Balcarres collection. Colin Lindsay, third Earl, was a warm friend and supporter of Charles II. and his brother James This Earl was four times married, and from his loyalty to the Stuarts he was on one occasion arrested and imprisoned in Edinburgh. On another occasion, and in the midst of political troubles, he escaped with his wife to the Continent, where, it is said, they endured great privations; this was his first wife, and the date would be 1687 or 1688, or before William and Mary ascended the throne. Writing from The Hague to Lady Balcarres on 13th December (no year), the Princess of Orange said:—

You may be confident that if it had been in my power as much as in my desire to assist your lord and you, you would not have been in that ill condition you are in; for truly the only cause why I have not sent you what I intended has been the want of ready money. Therefore the proposition you make to me is so good, that if you will find any person who will advance you the money, I will give an assurance under my own hand to see it paid in the space of two months; and to that end I shall give Oudart orders to draw up a paper, which I will sign and send you to-morrow, for on all occasions you will find me your most affectionate friend,

MARIE.

In the next letter she said :—

If it had been in my power you should have found before this time the effect of that true esteem I have for your person, for I may assure you with truth that the want of these occasions did much trouble me ; and now, more than ever finding how much you are satisfied with these very little civilities I was able to perform when I was with you, which I am so ashamed you should take notice of, that I will leave this subject and tell you that the kindness of the Queen's invitation to me to come to her is very well able alone to overcome all endeavours of hindering me from that happiness, if I had not a passionate desire of waiting on Her Majesty, which I hope to do shortly, in spite of all designs to the contrary: and wherever I go let me desire you to believe that I shall always strive to show you the reality of my being.—Your affectionate friend,

MARIE.

The affection with which her husband cherished her memory was attested by a monument the most superb ever erected to any sovereign. No scheme had been so near her heart as that of converting the Palace of Greenwich into a retreat for seamen. William lost no time in putting the scheme forward; a plan was furnished by Wren, and soon the edifice was put up. Had the King's life been prolonged till the work was completed, a statue of the Queen, who was the founder, would have had a conspicuous place in that court which represents two lofty domes and two graceful colonnades to the multitudes who pass up and down the river. On the Continent Mary's death excited deep emotion. The Huguenots, it is said, bewailed the Queen, who had retrenched from her own Royal state in order to furnish bread and shelter to the persecuted people of God. Mathew Prior wrote that the coldest and most passionless of nations was touched, "that the very marble wept." The lamentations of Cambridge and

Oxford were echoed by Leyden and Utrecht. The bells of all the steeples in Holland tolled day after day. James, the ex-King, who was nothing if not arbitrary, strictly prohibited all mourning at St. Germains, and prevailed on Louis to issue a similar prohibition at Versailles. This was an act that disgraced James in the eyes of Europe. During the month which followed, King William, on account of grief, was incapable of exertion. Even to the addresses of the two Houses he replied by a few inarticulate sounds. Such business as could not be deferred was attended to by Portland, who was himself oppressed with sorrow at the loss the nation had sustained. In the King's first letter after this event he wrote: "I tell you in confidence that I feel myself to be no longer fit for military command, yet I will try to do my duty, and I hope God will strengthen me." When the Princess Anne waited on the King at Kensington she had to be carried upstairs in her chair to the presence chamber. The King came and saluted her. She said, in faltering accents, "she was truly sorry for his loss"; he replied "he was much concerned for hers." Both were deeply affected, and could not restrain tears; she remained three-quarters of an hour.[1]

The House of Peers went in a body to Kensington Palace and presented an address, deploring the death of the Queen. The King said: "I heartily thank you for your kindness to me, but much more for the sense you show of our great loss, which is above what I can express." The Commons also presented an address, and the King said: "Gentlemen, I take very kindly your care of me, especially at this time when I am able to think of nothing but our great loss."[2]

By the Bill of Right the English crown was entailed on the Princess Anne after the death of William, and it was believed from the state of his health that his death was not far distant. Marlborough, who was a Jacobite and an enemy of William, thought it prudent to do

[1] Lewis Jenkins. [2] Strickland.

nothing rash, as at the death of the King he was certain of getting into power, from the intimacy which existed between the Princess Anne and his wife. Anne sent a letter of condolence to William, which does not appear to have been acknowledged. Somers, afterwards Lord Chancellor, was anxious for a reconciliation between William and Anne, and he went out to Kensington to see His Majesty. William was sitting so deeply sunk in melancholy that he did not observe that anyone had entered the room. Somers implored him to be reconciled to the Princess, to which he replied: "Do what you will; I can think of no business." After this interview Anne came to Kensington and was graciously received. She was lodged in St. James's Palace, a guard of honour placed at her door, and foreign ministers after some time were introduced to her. But the Churchills were not permitted to dwell under the same roof. Marlborough remained excluded from military and political employment, but he was permitted to kiss the King's hand. The feeling with which he was regarded by the King explains why Anne was not appointed Regent, as the regency of Anne would have been the regency of Marlborough.

Sir John Trevor, first Commissioner of the Great Seal under William and Mary, and for a short time Speaker of the House of Commons, was in 1695 censured by the House, and retired into private life. He found his chief delight after retiring from office in accumulating money. He became a great economist, and even grudged a glass of wine to a poor relation. It is recorded that he had dined by himself one day at the Rolls, and was drinking his wine quietly when his cousin, Roderick Lloyd, was unexpectedly introduced to him from a side-door: "You rascal," said he to the servant, "you have brought my cousin up my back stairs; take him instantly back down by the back stairs, and bring him up my front stairs." Lloyd in vain remonstrated, and while he was conveyed down the back stairs and up the front stairs the bottle and

glasses were removed, and some law-books and papers substituted. On another occasion Roderick was returning rather elevated from his club one night, and ran against the pump in Chancery Lane. Conceiving somebody had struck him he drew his sword and made a slash at the pump; the sword entered at the spout and the pump being weak fell down. Roderick concluding he had killed his man, left his sword in the pump, and very speedily found his way to his friend's house at the Rolls. There he was concealed by the servants for the night. In the morning Sir John, having heard the story, came himself to deliver him from his consternation and confinement in the coal-house.[1]

At the date of the retirement of Trevor, Somers, one of the most capable men of the time, was appointed Lord Chancellor. It was during his term of office that the famous Bankers' case turned up. It arose out of the infamous shutting up of the Exchequer in 1672, in the reign of Charles II., when the King intercepted at the banks, for his own private use, nearly a million and a half of money, which should have been applied to the repayment of Government loans. This robbery ruined many individuals, destroyed public credit, and paralysed trade. Charles, as a partial indemnity, granted to the bankers by way of interest at six per cent. on their claims certain perpetual annuities which were charged on the Excise. King William refused to recognise these obligations as beyond the power of Charles to grant. The bankers thereupon took action, and succeeded in making good their claims. Charles ordered the judges to grant no injunctions against the bankers. The judgment on appeal was over-ruled by Lord Somers, and his became rather a famous judgment. He held that the barons of Exchequer had no authority to order payment. Curiously enough a writ of error on this reversal was in 1700 brought before the House of Lords when Somers's judgment was reversed, and the original judgment restored.

[1] Lives of the Chancellors.

The Scottish Parliament of 21st April, 1695, ordained that no one presume to sit on the benches save the nobility; that the officers of State sit upon the steps of the throne; that the commissioners of shires and burghs sit on forms appointed for them; that noblemen's eldest sons and heirs sit on the lower bench of the throne; that the Lords of Session sit at one table, which is to stand betwixt the throne and the commissioners of burghs; that none presume to sit at the clerks' table save the Clerk Register, and the deputies and servants employed by him in the service of the House, nor to stand betwixt the throne and the clerk's table. Any other persons allowed access shall sit at the far end of the seats appointed for the commissioners of shires and burghs. On 16th May following the Scottish Parliament sent the following letter of condolence to the King:—"We, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, the Lords and Commons of shires and burghs in Parliament assembled, humbly express to your Majesty how deeply sensible we are of the irreparable loss which your Majesty and this kingdom have sustained by the death of our most generous sovereign the Queen: a loss that can never be too much nor too long lamented. We do at the same time bless God for the preservation of your Majesty under the weight of impressions suitable to so great an affliction. We hope God will long preserve a life on which so much depends, and enable you to finish what you have begun, that we and the rest of Europe may in the issue owe to your Majesty full peace and security as we do under God all our present happiness. Our duty on so sad an occasion is to renew the assurances which in your loyal Parliament we have often given of our fidelity and affection, in our readiness to assist you against your enemies at home and abroad, and that we join in those assurances all possible demonstrations of the heartiness and sincerity which we are about to do by taking your letter into our consideration, and making such an answer to it as becomes the most faithful

subjects to give, for the security of the Government and the satisfaction of your subjects."

On 12th May, 1695, William left Kensington for Gravesend to embark for the Continent. Three days before his departure the Scottish Parliament had, after a recess of two years, met in Edinburgh. Hamilton, the High Commissioner, was dead, and John Hay, Marquis of Tweeddale, was appointed his successor. A commission, authorising Tweeddale and several Privy Councillors to inquire fully into the massacre of Glencoe, was signed by the King, and was sent to Edinburgh sealed with the Great Seal. The commission obeyed the remit, and took a great deal of evidence. The conclusion to which they came was that the massacre was a barbarous murder, and that the letters of Stair were the sole warrant and cause. The Scottish Parliament considered this report, and unanimously resolved that the order signed by the King did not authorise the slaughter; they resolved, but not unanimously, that the slaughter was a murder.[1]

In connection with the massacre the survivors, headed by John and Alexander Macdonald, presented a petition to the Scottish Parliament, which petition was forwarded to the King with the following letter:—

EDINBURGH, *8th July*, 1695.

Petition presented by John Macdonald of Glencoe for himself and Alexander Macdonald, and the poor remnant left of that family, showing that it being thus evident to the conviction of the nation how inhumanly, as well as unchristianly, the deceased Alexander Macdonald of Glencoe, John Macdonald, and too many more of the petitioners' unfortunate family were murdered and butchered in February, 1692, against the laws of nature and nations, the laws of hospitality and the public faith, by a band of men quartered amongst them and pretending peace, though they perpetrated the grossest cruelty under the colour of His Majesty's

[1] Acts of the Scot. Par., 26th June, 1695.

authority. And seeing the evidence taken by the Lords and other members of the commission which His Majesty granted for inquiry into that affair hath shown Parliament that, after committing the massacre, the poor petitioners were most ravenously plundered of all that was necessary for their sustenance, and their clothes, money, houses and plenishing all burned, destroyed or taken away. The soldiers drove away no fewer than 500 horses, 1,500 cows, and many more sheep and goats. It was a proper occasion for His Majesty and the Estates of Parliament to give a full vindication of their justice, freeing the public from the least imputation which may be cast thereon by foreign enemies, on account of so unexampled an act; and that it is worthy the honour of His Majesty and the Estates to relieve the necessities of the poor petitioners, and to save them and their exposed widows and orphans from starving, and all the misery of the extremest poverty to which they were made liable, unless His Majesty and the Estates provide them a remedy. And therefore most humbly beg His Grace and the Estates to ordain such relief and redress to the petitioners as in their wisdom should be found most fit. (Here follow signatures.)

[This petition was remitted to a committee to make a recommendation.]

The Scottish Parliament addressed the King on the subject as follows:—

EDINBURGH, 10*th July*, 1695.

We find, in the first place, that the Master of Stair's letters had exceeded your instructions. The Glencoe men were ordered to be destroyed without any further consideration than that of their not having taken the indemnity in due time, and their not having taken it is considered a happy incident, as it afforded an opportunity to destroy them. The destruction of them is urged with great zeal as acceptable and of public use. This zeal is extended even to the giving of directions

about the manner of putting them to death, from which it is plain there were instructions for mercy to all who would submit, though the day of indemnity had elapsed, yet these letters of Stair exclude the Glencoe men from mercy. Sir Thomas Livingstone and Colonel Hill are exculpated from blame. In regard to Colonel Hamilton, he being required to be present at the Scottish Parliament and not appearing, we ordered him to be seized wherever he could be found. Having considered the orders that he received, and his share in the execution, we consider he was not clear of the murder of the Glencoe men, and therefore there is ground to prosecute him. Major Duncanson, who received orders from Hamilton, being in Flanders, as well as those to whom he gave orders, we could not see these orders, and therefore resolve to ask your Majesty to have him examined in Flanders, or to have him sent home to be prosecuted, as you shall think fit.

The depositions of the witnesses being clear as to Campbell of Glenlyon, Captain Drummond and Lindsay Lundie and Barbour, and the part they had in the execution of the Glencoe men on whom they were quartered, these persons were actors under trust, and should be sent home to be prosecuted according to law.

In conclusion, we humbly beg, considering the Master of Stair's excess in his letters against the Glencoe men has been the cause of this unhappy business, and in great measure has given occasion to so extraordinary an execution by the warm directions he gave about doing it by way of surprise, and considering the high office and trust he is in, and that he is absent, we beg that your Majesty will give such orders about him for the vindication of your Government as in your wisdom you shall see fit. Considering that the actors have barbarously killed men under trust, we desire you would be pleased to send the actors home, and give orders to prosecute them according to law, there remaining nothing else to be done for the full vindication of your

government from so foul and slanderous an act as it has lain under on this occasion.[1]

We commend the case of the men who escaped, and who asked reparation as worthy of your Royal charity and compassion, and hope such orders will be given for supplying them in their necessity as your Majesty shall think fit.

Signed on behalf of the Estates of Parliament.

ANNANDALE, President.[2]

The Master of Stair, the Lord Advocate, was censured but too softly; he was, however, dismissed from office. They blamed his immoderate zeal against the unfortunate clan, and his arrogant directions about performing the massacre by surprise. His excess in his letters was pronounced to be the original cause of the massacre. Instead of demanding that he should be brought to trial as a murderer, they left it to the King to deal with him in such a manner as might vindicate the honour of the Government. The clemency shown to Stair was not extended to his subordinates. Hamilton, Glenlyon, Drummond, Lindsay, Lundie and Balfour were designated murderers, and the King ordered their prosecution, but they escaped to Flanders. Breadalbane was found guilty of treason for the manner in which he acted in his mediation with the clans. What the Scottish Parliament ought to have demanded was that the real murderer, the Master of Stair, should be brought to a public trial, and should, if found guilty, have been beheaded. Nothing less than that could expiate such a crime, nor can we relieve the King of blame, or rather of committing a great breach of duty.

After reading the report and relative papers transmitted from Edinburgh by Tweeddale, no one

[1] On 11th July, 1695, the Earl of Perth and Melfort was, by the Scottish Parliament, found guilty of high treason, and sentence of forfeiture pronounced against him.

[2] William Johnstone, first Marquis of Annandale.

could entertain the slightest doubt of Stair's guilt. To visit that guilt with exemplary punishment was the sacred duty of the King; he contented himself with merely dismissing Stair.

It does not appear that the King, who was a partisan of Stair, was anxious to prosecute the matter further. He was wholly engrossed in military operations against France. At the very date on which he received this despatch, he had laid siege to the town of Namur, which was defended by the French troops. While the conflict was raging, William, who was giving his orders under a shower of bullets, saw with surprise and anger among the officers of his staff, Michael Godfrey, Deputy Governor of the Bank of England. He had come to the King's headquarters to make arrangements for the safe remittance of money from England to William's army, and was curious to see a real war. Such curiosity William could not endure. "Mr Godfrey," he said, "you ought not to run these hazards; you are not a soldier; you can be no use to us here." "Sir," said Godfrey, "I run no more hazard than your Majesty." "Not so," said William; "I am where it is my duty to be, and I may, without presumption, commit my life to God's keeping; but you—" While they were talking a cannon-ball from the ramparts laid Godfrey dead at the King's feet. Namur capitulated, but a terrible contest began for the possession of the citadel held by the French, under Boufflers. In London and Paris the anxiety about the battle was intense. On 19th August the assault was made in four places by four divisions of William's army. Next day Boufflers, who commanded the garrison, asked a truce of forty-eight hours to enable him to bury the dead; the request was granted. Before the time expired he intimated that he would capitulate, and it was agreed that he and his men should be allowed to depart, leaving the citadel and stores to the conquerors. In all the countries which were united against France the fall of Namur was received with acclamation. On 10th October the King, leaving his army in winter

quarters, proceeded to England, and was received with enthusiasm the bells rang merrily, and all the streets in London were lighted up. A council was held at Kensington, which authorised two proclamations; one in the ordinary form, intimating the dissolution of Parliament and writs for a new Parliament; the other announcing that every regiment quartered in a place where an election was to be held should march out of that place the day before the nomination, and not return till the election was over. Garrisons of fortified places were excepted. On 17th October the King went to Newmarket, where he held a Court, receiving the homage of Cambridge, Huntingdon and Suffolk. At Althorpe the people assembled in crowds to kiss his hand; he then proceeded to Stamford and Lincoln. Here he was greeted by the clergy, by the magistrates in scarlet robes, and by baronets, knights and squires from all parts; he attended service in Lincoln Cathedral. At Welbeck, then the residence of the Duke of Newcastle, he lunched in the Robin Hood Forest; 400 gentlemen shared in the sports. The Lord Mayor of York, magistrates, and the Archbishop, with a company of clergy, came there to do obeisance to him. Proceeding to Warwick Castle, the seat of Lord Brook, there were great rejoicings, and it is said 120 gallons of punch were drunk to his health. At Oxford, William was received with great pomp, complimented in a Latin oration, presented with some of the most beautiful productions of the academic press, and invited to a sumptuous feast in the Sheldman Theatre. On his return to London there was a great display of fireworks. The result of the general election proved that William had chosen a fortunate time for dissolving. There were 160 new members, most of whom were his supporters. On 22nd November Parliament met, and was opened by William, who made a short speech; he congratulated his hearers on the success of the campaign on the Continent. That success he attributed to the bravery of the English soldiers. He referred to the evils which had arisen

from the state of the currency, and the necessity of applying a speedy remedy. He expressed his opinion that the cost of restoring it should be borne by the State, but he referred the whole matter to the wisdom of his Privy Council. The Houses were pleased with his speech. He came only on council days to Kensington, and kept himself as much as possible in retirement at Hampton Court, where his time was spent superintending the digging of canals in the Home Park there, to make it resemble the Dutch gardens. He frequently dined with his favourite, Keppel, at the Cockpit at Whitehall, where business was privately discussed, and where William's policy was put into shape.

In 1696, after the defeat of the French at Namur, and William's return to England, some men were, at the instigation of James, engaged in another plot to take away the King's life. This plot assumed formidable dimensions, was skilfully gone about, was supported by many Jacobites, and would have succeeded but for one of the conspirators disclosing the secret. There were in reality two plots: one was for a Jacobite insurrection, and the removal of William from the throne; the other was for his murder. Both plots were under the direction of a leader sent from St. Germains, who appears to have been Sir George Barclay, a Scotsman, on the staff of James. To Charnock and Parkyns, two of the conspirators, Barclay produced his commission; he stated to them that James had expressly commanded all good Englishmen not only to rise in arms, not only to make war on the usurping Government, not only to seize forts and towns, but also to do from time to time such other acts of hostility against William as might be for the Royal service. These words Barclay said plainly authorised an attack on William's person. The conspirators were satisfied. All that remained was to find a sufficient number of assistants, to provide horses and weapons, and to fix the hour and place of the murder; forty or fifty men, it was thought,

would be sufficient. Twenty picked men left St. Germains for London to help to carry out the plot. William went every Saturday to Richmond Park, *via* Turnham Green, to hunt. At that place he crossed the river in a boat. Saturday, 15th February, 1696, was fixed for the assassination, which was to take place at Turnham Green. As the cavalcade came up Charnock was to attack the guards in the rear; Rockwood on one flank, and Porter on the other; Barclay, with eight men, was to stop the coach and do the deed.

When the time had arrived a message came in from a spy that "the King had changed his mind and would not hunt." The countenances of the assassins fell, their hearts died within them, and they dispersed. By the close of Sunday twenty of them were promptly arrested and imprisoned by the King's orders, and troops were called out and some regiments from Flanders sent for. The brass bands of the city were in arms; the King went in state to the House of Commons, and from the throne told Parliament that but for Providence he should at that moment have been dead, and the kingdom invaded by a French army. The danger of invasion, he added, was still great, but he had given such orders as would suffice for the protection of the realm. The Houses voted a joint address acknowledging the Divine goodness which had preserved him, and imploring him to take more than ordinary care of his person. They requested him to seize and secure all persons he regarded as dangerous. In a few days the chief conspirators were in custody, except Barclay, who had escaped to France. Charnock, King, Keyes and Parkyns were tried, condemned and executed, as also were Rockwood, Cranburne and Lowick.

On 7th May, 1696, William again landed in Holland, proceeded to Flanders to prosecute military operations, and took command of the allied forces assembled at Ghent. In England there was a great financial crisis, money could not be got, and the circulation of base coin was strictly prohibited. William sent over the

Earl of Portland to obtain money so as to provision his army, at whatever cost. He had exhausted his private credit in Holland to procure bread for his troops, and he then appealed to the Bank of England. A special court of the bank was held under the presidency of the Lord Mayor of London; 600 shareholders were present, and on the motion being put to grant William £200,000, every hand in the hall was held up for sending the money. In the autumn William returned to England. He took very little interest personally in the affairs of Scotland, and delegated his authority to a Secretary of State and a High Commissioner. His attention was principally taken up with military matters, so that even the civil administration of England suffered to a considerable extent from the want of his personal influence and advice.

From the following incident it would appear that in 1696 the majesty of the law was not respected:—Jean Douglas, Lady Glenbucket, in 1693, on the death of her husband, entered into possession, and collected the rents, for the benefit of her eight children. A quarrel arose between her and her eldest son, Adam Gordon. On coming south in May to take advice about her affairs, her son followed her with an armed force, and on her refusal to comply with his request that she should return, said she would go back though he should drag her at the horse's tail. Then, seizing her with violence, he forced her to return, kept her there[1] as a prisoner thirty days without attendance or proper food. She could not eat anything that was offered for fear of poison, and would have starved but for the charity of her neighbours. Her son meanwhile seized everything in the house, including the title-deeds of the property, and left her and her children nothing. The poor lady was glad to escape with her life. She applied to the Privy Council for redress, but the result is not recorded.[2]

[1] Glenbucket. [2] Privy Council Register.

On 6th October William landed at Margate, and the same evening reached Kensington. The following morning a crowd of ministers and nobles pressed to kiss his hand; on 20th October Parliament met. The King, in opening the session, said there was great reason for congratulation; it was true that the funds voted in the preceding session for the support of the war had failed, and that the recoinage had produced great distress; yet the enemy had obtained no advantage abroad, the State had been torn by no convulsion at home; the loyalty shown by the army and by the nation under severe trials had disappointed the hopes of those who wished evil to England. Overtures tending to peace had been made. There could be no safe or honourable peace for a nation which was not prepared to wage victorious war; the only way of treating with France was with our swords in our hands. Before the House rose the Chancellor of the Exchequer carried three resolutions: the first declared that the Commons would support the King against all foreign and domestic enemies, and would enable him to prosecute the war with vigour; the second declared that the standard of money should not be altered in fineness, weight or denomination; the third pledged the House to make good all the deficiencies of all Parliamentary funds established since the King's accession.[1] Within a fortnight two and a half millions were granted for the military expenditure for the succeeding year and nearly as much for the Navy. The King asked for 87,000 soldiers, which was granted. The war with France gradually came to an end, and eventually Dykvelt, the Dutch minister, informed Baron Liliewroth, the Swedish ambassador, that the French King had engaged that whenever a treaty of peace should be signed, to recognise William as King of Great Britain without restriction, condition or reserve. This state of matters led to a restoration of the finances and the prosperity of the kingdom.

[1] Commons' Journals.

Sir John Fenwick, a noted Jacobite and conspirator. was at this date arrested and imprisoned. The King consented to see him at Kensington. A few of the great officers of State and Crown lawyers attended, The King, addressing him, said: "Your papers, Sir John, are altogether unsatisfactory; instead of giving me an account of the plots formed by you and your accomplices—plots of which all the details must be known to you—you tell me stories without authority without date or place, about noblemen and gentlemen with whom you do not pretend to have had any intercourse; in short, your confession appears to be a contrivance intended to screen those who are really engaged in designs against me, and to make me suspect and discard those in whom I have good reason to place confidence. If you look for any favour from me, give me this moment, and on the spot, a full and straightforward account of what you know of your own knowledge." Fenwick said he was taken by surprise, and asked for time. "No, sir," said the King. "For what purpose can you want time? You may indeed want time if you mean to draw up another paper like this, but what I require is a plain narrative of what you have yourself done and seen; and such a narrative you can give if you will, without pen and ink." Fenwick refused to say anything. "Be it so," said the King. "I will neither hear you nor hear from you any more." Fenwick was carried back to prison. Though a member of the House of Commons, he was described as an agitator and conspirator and a supporter of James. In 1697 the day of reckoning came; after this interview with William he was prosecuted for high treason, found guilty by Parliament, and a bill of attainder passed against him, Efforts were made by his friends to save his life, but in vain. He had lost the respect of the public, and on 28th January, 1697, he was beheaded on Tower Hill. No person has since that day suffered death in England by act of attainder.

In autumn following, the Estates of Scotland met at Edinburgh, and the sittings lasted five weeks. A supply amounting to £100,000 sterling was voted. Two acts securing the Government were passed, one of which provided that the Scottish Parliament should not be dissolved by the death of the King.

On 16th April following, the King closed Parliament with a short speech, in which he returned thanks for the firmness and wisdom which had rescued the nation from financial difficulties, unprecedented in history. Before he set out for the Continent he conferred some new honours. Somers delivered up the Great Seal, but received it back with the higher title of Chancellor, and was created Baron Somers of Evesham.[1] The time had now arrived when there should be a reconciliation between England and France. Two distinguished men, Portland and Boufflers, were authorised to discuss the situation. On 28th June, the meeting between them took place at Hal, ten miles from Brussels. William's first demand was that France should bind herself to give no help to any attempts which might be made by James to disturb the existing order of things; his second demand was that James should be no longer suffered to reside at a place so near England as St. Germains. To the first the French King agreed; to the second he demurred, James being his guest, but it was arranged that James should be sent to Avignon. Louis then demanded that a general amnesty should be granted to the Jacobites, but William refused; also that Mary of Modena, James's wife, should receive her jointure of £50,000 a year; to the second William agreed, if the exiled King and Queen took up their abode at Avignon. And so peace was at last concluded between the two nations, and the protocol signed on 10th September, 1697. This was the treaty of Ryswick. There were great rejoicings in London over this event. At the residence of the Dutch ambassador, 140 barrels of pitch roared and blazed

[1] *London Gazette*, 29th April, 1697.

before his house in St. James's Square all night, which sent up a flame that made Pall Mall and Piccadilly as bright as noonday. It was a sad day for the Jacobites. They were filled with dismay; many took to flight, and some drowned themselves. Between Holland and France there had been nothing but warfare for some years. In England William had peace, but Scotland and Ireland gave him anxiety, as the Jacobite element was difficult to put down; in short, it was never put down.

On 14th November, William again landed at Margate from Holland. On the following day he reached Greenwich, and the next day eighty coaches, with six horses each, filled with nobles, clergy, privy counsellors and judges, came to swell his train. In Southwark he was met by the Lord Mayor and aldermen in their robes, the streets were lined with militia, while the livery companies were marshalled under the standards of their trades. At St. Paul's Churchyard stood the boys of the school of Edward VI., wearing the garb of the seventeenth century. In Ludgate Hill and Fleet Street were drawn up three more regiments of Londoners; from Temple Bar to Whitehall were the train bands of Middlesex and the Foot guards. The finest part of the show was the innumerable crowd of spectators in their Sunday clothing. "I never," William wrote to a friend, "saw such a multitude of well-dressed people." Scarcely had he reached Whitehall when addresses of congratulation from the leading corporations of the kingdom were presented to him, foremost being the University of Oxford. A disastrous event happened in the destruction by fire of the Palace of Whitehall. Before midnight the King's apartments, the Queen's, the wardrobe, the treasury, the offices of the Privy Council and Secretary of State, were destroyed. The two chapels perished together; that where Wolsey heard Mass, and that which had been erected for the devotions of James. No trace was left of that cele-

brated gallery which had witnessed so many balls and pageants, in which so many bags of gold had changed hands at the hazard-table. The banqueting-house was safe, but the graceful columns and festoons designed by Inigo were so much defaced as to be scarcely discernible. Henry VIII. had built two additions to Whitehall, a cockpit and a tennis court; the treasury now occupied the site of the former, and the Privy Council office the site of the latter.

William appointed the Earl of Portland to be his ambassador in France; the choice was judicious, as Portland became a most capable minister. Portland had great difficulty in Paris; James was still at St. Germains, and round the ex-King was gathered a mock Court and Council, a Great Seal and a Privy Seal, Garters and Collars, white staves and gold keys. At an interview with Boufflers, Portland pointed out that it was necessary that James should leave St. Germains, to which Boufflers answered, that no pledge was given at the Ryswick Conference that James would be required to leave France. Portland: "I proposed that James should retire to Rome or Modena; then you suggested Avignon and I assented." A few days later Portland had an interview with Louis, when he informed him that while St. Germains was occupied by its present inmates, it would be beyond His Majesty's power to prevent plotting between them and the malcontents on the other side of the water. Louis, as a result of his interview with Portland, gave orders that the lords and gentlemen of the exiled King were not to come to Versailles on the days on which Portland would be there. James, it is recorded, took a pleasure in thwarting the views of Louis on this point, and in placing Portland in embarrassing situations. One day Portland was engaged to go with the Dauphin to the hunting: he was informed that James meant to be of the party, and Portland was forced to stay at home. It was at this time that Louis sent an ambassador to the English Court, and Count Tallard was sent to Kensington.

This was a step of some moment, but it evidently was the result of the Ryswick treaty of peace. Tallard carried with him instructions carefully framed in the French Foreign Office. The mansion of the Duke of Ormond in St. James's Square was taken for him, and on the day of his public entry, the streets from Pall Mall to Tower hill were crowded with spectators, who admired the painting and gilding of his carriages, the beauty of his horses, and the multitude of his running footmen dressed in liveries of scarlet and gold lace. Tallard was graciously received at Kensington, and invited to accompany William to Newmarket. As soon as William prorogued Parliament he was impatient to be again in his native land. By proclamation he fixed the opening of the next triennial Parliament on 29th October, 1698. He was lingering in Holland, and did not arrive in time, so that Parliament was prorogued till December, when the King took his seat in the House of Lords, and delivered his speech from the throne. Parliament was not in sympathy with him about the army, and passed a vote for 7,000 men. William was displeased, and it is said it was with difficulty he was dissuaded from throwing up the government.

In a letter to Heinsius, pensioner of Holland, 20th December, 1698, William said: "I foresee I shall be driven to take an extreme course, and that I shall see you again in Holland sooner than I imagined." He had resolved to go down to the Lords, to send for the Commons, and to make his last speech from the throne. He meant to tell his hearers that he had come to England to defend their religion and their liberties, and for that end he had been under the necessity of waging a long and cruel war; that the war had by the blessing of God ended in an honourable peace; and that the nation might now be tranquil and happy, if only those precautions were adopted which he had on the first day of the session recommended as essential to the public security. Since, however, the Estates of the

realm thought fit to slight his advice and to expose themselves to the risk of ruin, he would not be the witness of calamities which he had not caused. He must therefore request the Houses to present a bill providing for the government of the realm ; he would pass that bill, and withdraw from a post in which he could no longer be useful ; but he should take a deep interest in the welfare of England ; and if what he foreboded should come to pass, if in some day of danger she should again need his services, his life should be hazarded as freely as ever in her defence. When William showed this speech to Lord Somers, that minister said : "This is extravagance, sir ; this is madness. I implore your Majesty, for the sake of your own honour, not to say to anybody else what you have said to me." The King would not yield. The restricting of the army to 7,000, and the ordering of the Dutch soldiers to return to Holland, displeased him. The Dutch guards immediately began to march to the coast, and the people witnessed their departure rather with sorrow than triumph. They had been long domiciled here, had been honest and inoffensive, and many were accompanied by their wives and children, who spoke only in English.

On 4th May, 1699, the King prorogued Parliament ; he uttered not a word of thanks, and expressed a hope that when they should meet again they would make effectual provision for the public safety. "I wish no mischief may happen in the meantime."

Parliament met again on 16th November. The King assured the House that he was determined to do his best to merit their devotion, by constant care to preserve their liberty and religion, by a pure administration of justice, by countenancing virtue and discouraging vice, by shrinking from no difficulty or dangers when the welfare of the nation was at stake. "These are my resolutions, and I am persuaded that you are come together with purposes similar to those of mine : since these our aims are only for the general good, let us act with confidence in one another, which will not fail, by

God's blessing, to make me a happy King and you a great and flourishing people." Parliament was prorogued on 10th April, 1700, by the Earl of Bridgewater, by Royal command. William was too angry to thank the Commons, and too prudent to reprimand them.

In the matter of the union of the kingdoms, William in February, 1700, addressed Parliament in the following terms:—"His Majesty cannot but have great concern and tenderness for Scotland, and a desire to advance their welfare and prosperity, and is touched with the loss his subjects there have sustained by the Darien expedition. He apprehends that difficulties may too often arise respecting the different interests of trade between the two kingdoms, unless some way be found to unite them more nearly and completely, and therefore he takes this opportunity of putting the House of Lords in mind of what he recommended to Parliament soon after his accession, that they would consider a union between the two kingdoms. Nothing would more contribute to the security and happiness of both, and after they have lived nearly a hundred years under the same head some happy expedient may be found for making them one people. Therefore he very earnestly recommends this matter to the consideration of the House."[1] The House of Lords lost no time in following up the suggestion, and immediately fixed a day for its consideration. A bill appointing commissioners was passed on 25th February, but at the committee stage it was thrown out by the Commons.

One of the chief events in the reign of William was the dismissal of Lord Somers, the great Whig Lord Chancellor. Somers was a man of distinguished ability, born to rule, not to be ruled. The administration of his high office latterly became so arrogant that he would at times act on his own prerogative without consulting Parliament. That was a fatal error. Early in 1700 it was moved in the House of Commons "that His Majesty remove John, Lord Somers, from his presence and

[1] Lords' Journals, 12th February, 1700.

counsels for ever." This motion was negatived by a majority of 167 to 106, but it indicated a strong feeling against him, and this feeling rather increased. The King regarded the Chancellor with mistaken confidence, but felt that he could not oppose his own wishes to the national indignation. Somers was laid up for two months, but on resuming his official duties the King talked over matters with him, and suggested that he would deliver up the Great Seal and seals of office; also that he would make the deliverance his own act. Somers promptly declined to do so, but said if the King would send him a warrant under his own hand he would obey. On 17th April the warrant was brought to him by the Earl of Jersey, and he delivered to him the Great Seal which he had held for seven years. He was at this date forty-eight years of age. The Whigs, as might be supposed, were highly incensed at this transaction, as Somers was the oldest member of their party. "The law courts," says Cuninghame, "were immediately deserted, the laws silent, and all proceedings at a stand, for no one thought himself worthy to succeed Somers in his high office." The new Tory Parliament met in the beginning of 1701, when a motion was made to impeach Somers. Mathew Prior, a noted Whig, wrote the Duke of Manchester: "To-morrow is the great day when we expect the Lord Chancellor will be fallen upon, though God knows what crime he is guilty of, but that of being a great man, and a wise and upright judge." The misunderstanding between the two Houses, which originated in the indiscreet attempt of the Commons to prejudge the case while it was pending, gradually increased, and finally rendered the impeachment abortive.[1] At last the Lords and Commons met over the case in June following, when there was such violence that there seems to have been some danger of their coming to the *via facti*, and rendering it necessary to call in the police for the preservation of peace. The Lords fixed 17th June for the trial of

[1] Campbell's Lives.

Somers, and the Commons resolved that they would not attend. Somers was acquitted by the Lords by fifty-six to thirty-one votes. The impeachment drew forth the following opinion from Shrewsbury :—"I wonder that a man can be found in England, who has bread, who will be concerned in public business; had I a son, I would sooner train him to be a cobbler than a courtier, a hangman rather than a statesman."

King James died at St. Germains on 16th September, 1701, and the French King at once ordered the Prince of Wales (the Chevalier) to be proclaimed King of England as James III. This proceeding created profound sensation in London, the effect being that people of all ranks rallied round the throne of William. The messenger who carried to Loo the news of this proclamation arrived when William was at table with some friends. He said not a word, but his cheek flushed, and he pulled down his hat over his eyes to conceal his change of countenance. He then hastened to send off some despatches. The Common Council of London met and voted an address expressing resentment at the insult which France had offered to the kingdom. William, on 4th November, arrived from the Continent; his health was not good; he slept at Greenwich, and then proceeded to Hampton Court. Deputies from cities and universities besieged him until he admitted he was exhausted by the labour of heavy harangues and returning answers. The Corporation of Perth, displeased at the proclamation of the Prince of Wales, presented William with the following address:—

We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, having the honour to represent your Majesty's Royal burgh of Perth, that for the antiquity thereof, and other privileges, it has been honoured by your loyal ancestors, and is ranked the second burgh of this your ancient kingdom. Having under our consideration that this burgh has never been behind others in witnessing their zeal for religion and loyalty,

but rather before them, as is evident from that famous instance of defending the Protestant religion, laws and liberties against the French in the reign of Queen Mary, in which action they exhibited such wonderful courage and valour that it is remembered to their credit to this day. We cannot then allow ourselves to degenerate so far from the noble steps of our ancestors as to neglect this opportunity of joining with others of your Majesty's dutiful subjects in witnessing the deep sense we have of the great deliverance from Popery, whereof the King of Kings hath made your Majesty the Royal and glorious instrument; of the great blessings of the free exercise of our religion, laws and liberties which we enjoy under your happy and auspicious reign; and feeling the unparalleled injustice of the French King in causing to be proclaimed the pretended Prince of Wales, King of this and your Majesty's other dominions, contrary to all right and faith. Wherefore, in just indignation at this proceeding, we humbly crave leave to assure your Majesty that we will constantly adhere to you as our only rightful and undoubted sovereign, and to the utmost of our power defend your Royal person, and support your Government against the pretended Prince of Wales, and all others your Majesty's enemies without exception.

Signed at Perth 8th December, 1701.

GEORGE OLIPHANT, Provost.

On 10th November the King dissolved Parliament. The result of the election was very favourable. The King's speech was prepared by Somers, and said by Burnet to be "the best this, or perhaps any other, Prince ever made to his people." King William rode into the Home Park at Hampton Court on 21st February to look at the excavations for a new canal. He rode Sir John Fenwick's pony, when just as he came by the head of the two canals, the pony happened to tread on a molehill and fell. William fractured his collar-bone by the fall. It was dressed by the physician,

who requested him to take rest and go under medical treatment. William refused, and declared he must go to Kensington that night. On the journey the jolting of the carriage displaced the fractured bones, and he arrived there in great pain. The bone had to be again set by the physician, who spoke to him of the wilfulness of Royal patients. He sent a message to Parliament on 28th February for promoting the union with Scotland: and he advised expedition in passing the bill for the attainder of the youth, James Stuart, which had been in agitation for some time. The attainder was not ratified by the King, who fell into fits whenever he attempted to sign the act.[1] It was finally stamped by his ministers with his initials.

The General Assembly of the Scottish Church met at Edinburgh early in 1702, Sir Patrick Hume, first Earl of Marchmont, being appointed High Commissioner. That nobleman had faithfully adhered to the Presbyterian cause during the dark days of the persecution, and was a strong supporter of William. On one occasion he had been obliged to conceal himself in a box sunk under the floor of his bedroom, of size sufficient to receive his person, plus his bedclothes, and pierced with holes for the admission of air. This hiding-place he was compelled to exchange for a burial-vault at Polwarth Church, where he lay concealed from his persecutors for a month, supplied with food by his daughter, who carried it to the burying-ground at midnight. He had been obliged for the safety of his life to make his escape from Scotland.[2] By these sufferings he had been greatly endeared to the whole Presbyterian body, and it gave the General Assembly the highest gratification when he was appointed High Commissioner to the King.

On 28th February the Commons listened with uncovered heads to the last message that bore William's signed manual—the message to prosecute the union. It was resolved to consider the proposal

[1] Coxe's Walpole Papers. [2] Lady Murray's Memoirs.

on 7th March.[1] On that date the King was too ill, and nothing was done. The Princess Anne sent a message desiring to see him in his bedchamber, but the request was refused.

The King gave Albemarle the keys of his escritoire, and bade him take possession, for his private use, of 20,000 guineas—all the private property he had at his command. He likewise directed him to destroy all the letters that could be found in his cabinet. He swallowed a cordial, then asked for his friend Bentinck. Bentinck instantly came to his bedside, bent down and placed his ear close to the King's mouth. The lips of the dying man moved, but nothing could be heard. He took Bentinck's hand and pressed it to his heart, saying: "I draw towards my end." The bishops knelt down and read the commendatory prayer; when it ended William was no more. When his remains were laid out, it was found that he wore next to his skin a small piece of black silk ribbon; it was found to contain a gold ring, and a lock of hair, of his devoted wife, Queen Mary.

King William died on 8th March, 1702, in the fifty-second year of his age and thirteenth of his reign. He left no issue. His body was removed to Westminster, where it was embalmed. The funeral took place on 12th April at midnight. The procession began from Kensington, and the funeral train followed an open chariot, with the wax effigy, seated as if over his coffin; the pall was borne by six dukes. Prince George of Denmark, as chief mourner, was supported by two dukes; the body was deposited in Henry VII.'s Chapel, beside his wife, Queen Mary. William was a man of slender and rather feeble frame, with a lofty and ample forehead, sharp nose, and an eye remarkable for its brightness and keenness. In the development of his character, some features became conspicuous which made him out not only as a great personality, but a distinguished and able ruler.

[1] The House of Commons, it is said, on the death of William, ordered Elizabeth Villiers to surrender the Irish estates.

In middle age he had a severe attack of smallpox, and all his life he suffered from asthma. Frequently he could not sleep unless his head was propped up with pillows. He was a man of quick sensibilities, high moral principle, with a disposition that was a study to those who came about him. His mind once made up was unalterable, and his commands, whatever they were, must be obeyed. He was well qualified to guide the administration of England and Scotland at a time of unexampled difficulty, when both nations were struggling with anarchy. It was no common ruler who could wipe out the misrule of the three previous reigns, and this was what William was called upon to do. His devotion to his Fatherland was greater than his love for England, and he practically governed the Netherlands in addition. In private life he was noted for the simplicity of his tastes, the depth of his affection, as evidenced on the death of Queen Mary, and his attachment to the Earl of Portland, who was his loyal friend and minister up to the day of his death. William's arrival in England at such a critical period was an event of great importance to the kingdom; there was no one else who could so capably have guided the helm. His military knowledge and unclouded intellect served him in good part, for his life from the day he came over was one of constant warfare. In all his work, civil and military, he was supported to her death courageously and affectionately by his devoted wife, a lady of whom it would be impossible to speak too highly. Her administration during his numerous visits to the Continent manifests both discretion and judgment. Had she been spared to a more mature age, she would have left her mark on the history of the time. When she was no more, he felt that his life-work was done, that he was alone in the world, and must prepare to follow her. As an administrator his reputation must stand high, but as general of the army in the battlefield it must stand higher. This was manifest at the battle of the Boyne, where his bravery and

ingenuity in trying circumstances enabled him to score a complete victory.

We probably do not realise the difficulties of the situation which the Prince of Orange was called upon to deal with. It was a trying situation, surrounded with delicacy. The administration of the two previous kings had shaken the people's loyalty to the throne, destroyed all confidence in the laws of the realm, brought into contempt the eternal principles of justice, and laid the foundation of insurrection and rebellion, which showed itself in plots, conspiracies and assassinations. What made the situation delicate was that the dethroned King was the Prince's father-in-law. The Prince, independent and capable as he was, was handicapped with this relationship, which made his position almost intolerable. Had he not been a man of great force of character, he would never, in the circumstances, have accepted the crown of England. The ex-King fought for his restoration to the day of his death, and he predeceased the Prince of Orange by only one year. To a sensitive man like the Prince, it was a great trial of courage to be constantly fighting the ex-King, and though James was entirely overpowered at the battle of the Boyne, and had to escape for his life, his principle was—

> He that fights and runs away,
> Will live to fight another day.

The moment he had an encouraging response to an appeal for military aid, he was up and at it again. On this point the Prince has observed a discreet silence, and probably it is well for posterity that he has done so. He has left us to form our own conclusions from the records of his reign, which we possess in a restricted form.

He never was in love with Scotland, and would have been better pleased to have had nothing to do with it. His reason was plainly that Scotland was split into factions over the religious question ; a subject he did

not wish to interfere with farther than to ordain that no religious body was to be superior to another. The narrative of his reign is full of events, and what seems remarkable is the determined opposition he experienced from the Jacobites, notwithstanding that the kingdom was humiliated to the dust by the vexatious rule of a tyrant, whom those Jacobites now seemed to worship. Doubtless this was Catholic opposition, but William did nothing to persecute the Catholics, he simply put them on the same footing as the Protestants. From his arrival in this country till the close of his reign, he was anxious for a union of the kingdoms, but unfortunately his premature death prevented him from seeing it carried out.[1]

The massacre of Glencoe was the most outstanding Scottish event in his reign. It has formed the subject of much controversy, and must be regarded as a great blot on the history of Scotland. The King had, in reality, no connection with the outrage, and was perfectly innocent of any knowledge of it until long after its occurrence. He signed the warrant presented to him by Stair, his secretary, authorising it, but the document was signed with many others, and it is recorded that the King affixed his name to them without reading them. The sequel corroborates this. The entire blame is due to Dalrymple, Master of Stair, and the narrative shows the infamous instructions he issued on his own authority for the commission of the deed. There is no evidence that he ever took advice or consulted his confrerès on the subject. It was a deliberate act of his own, and is another illustration of the reprehensible abuse of power. He was censured and dismissed from Court, but that was no punishment at all. It seems mysterious that the people did not call for his execution at the Mercat Cross of Edinburgh, where executions were common for crimes of no moment in comparison with that of Stair.

The reign of William and Mary was a great factor in

[1] See his letter to the Estates of Scotland, ante, page 481.

restoring the people to their loyalty to the Crown, but the Jacobite element was implacable and obdurate, and continued to be so, particularly in Scotland, until its final extinction at Culloden in 1745. William and Mary having died without issue, the crown devolved on the Princess Anne, sister of Mary, and daughter of James, the dethroned King.

QUEEN ANNE.

(From the Original by Kneller, in the possession of the Earl of Egremont.)

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CHAPTER XIII.

Birth, early life and marriage of the Queen—Her escape from Whitehall — Her visit to Oxford — Birth and baptism of Gloucester—Death of the Duke of Gloucester—Electress Sophia visits King William — The French King and the Chevalier — Princess Anne removes to Kensington — The Queen proclaimed and opens Parliament — Coronation of Queen Anne — Proclamation by the Queen — Convention Parliament at Edinburgh—Letter from the Queen to Scottish Parliament—The Union and Hamilton's protest—Queen Anne's Bounty — Battle of Blenheim — Marlborough and Woodstock—Blenheim Palace—Cowper appointed Chancellor —Letter from the Queen to Elector of Hanover—Letter from the Queen to Godolphin—The Treaty of Union and negotiations—Queen Anne's loan to the Treasury.

REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

A.D. 1702—1714.

ANNE, second daughter of James II. and Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, was born at Twickenham, near London, on 6th February, 1664. Her mother died when she was seven years of age. When she reached twelve, she and her sister Mary were confirmed in the Chapel Royal at Whitehall, by Dr. Henry Compton, the Dean, afterwards Bishop of London. In 1677 the Princess Mary took her departure for Holland, having been married to William, Prince of Orange. In October, 1678, Anne, accompanied by her stepmother, Mary of Modena, paid a visit to Holland, and the following year visited Edinburgh, her father being at the time Lord High Commissioner for the King. The Princess Anne and Prince George of Denmark fell in love, and a marriage was ultimately arranged between them. The marriage took place at St. James's Chapel on 28th July, 1683, at ten o'clock at

night. Her uncle, the King, gave her away, the Queen and the Duke and Duchess of York being present. It was a bright function, brilliant with light and joyous company, most of the nobility in London being present. The people took their part in the rejoicings, kindled bonfires at every door, while wine conduits, shows and diversions, were provided for them, and the bells of the churches rang all night. On the following morning the Princess sat in state with her husband to receive the congratulations of foreign ambassadors, the Lord Mayor and aldermen, and the various public companies. The King settled on his niece by act of Parliament £20,000 per annum, and from his own purse purchased and presented to her for a residence that adjunct to the Palace of Whitehall, called the Cockpit, built by Henry VIII. for that unmanly sport. It had long been discontinued, and been used as a theatre till the rebellion. It was situated between the Horse Guards and Downing Street, entrance from St. James's Park. Her father increased her income to £32,000, but she was, notwithstanding this, always in debt. Burnet, a well-known writer of the time, states that the marriage did not at all please the nation, as the proposition came from France. In 1685 the Princess gave birth to a daughter who was named Mary, and again in 1686 she gave birth to a daughter who was named Anne Sophia. Both died in February, 1687. Prince George is said to have been an indolent and good-natured man, fond of his dinner and his bottle, taking no part in public affairs. The Princess Anne's weakness of character resulted in that quondam alliance with the Churchills which was the bane of her life. When James became King he made attempts to get Anne converted to the Catholic faith. If she consented, "he would arrange that she would take precedence of Mary in the line of succession." She, however, remained firm a Protestant, lived in retirement during her father's brief reign, and communicated her feelings only to her sister Mary. It is recorded in 1687 that the Princess Anne could not live apart from the companion of her

youth, Lady Churchill. She became impatient of the restraint which etiquette required, consequently she became, by her own wish, Mrs. Morley, and Lady Marlborough, Mrs. Freeman: and under these childish names was carried on for twenty years a correspondence between them, on which at last the fate of administrations and dynasties depended.[1] In 1688 the tyrannical reign of James had become intolerable, and the Princess Anne resolved to go over to the followers of King William, and made her arrangements to do so. On Sunday, 25th November, at midnight, the Princess stole down into the park with Lady Marlborough, and two attendants, and close to the Cockpit she met her auxiliary, Lord Dorset. They had not far to walk to the hackney coach, but the Princess, who had not equipped herself for walking, soon lost one of her shoes inextricably in the mud. Not daunted, she tried to hop forward with one shoe, but Dorset pulled off his embroidered leather glove and begged her to permit him to draw it on her foot as a protection against wet. This was done amidst great laughter and many jokes, and partly hopping and partly carried by Lord Dorset, the Princess gained the spot where the Bishop awaited them in the hackney coach. The party then drove to the Bishop's house in Aldersgate Street, where they were refreshed, and went from thence before daybreak *en route* for Epping Forest, where they halted a few hours, and went on to Nottingham, where they were hospitably received by the Earl of Nottingham, the Bishop's brother. Compton laid aside his official robes and preceded the Princess's carriage in tourist attire, having sword and pistols. Long before she reached Nottingham she was surrounded by a bodyguard of gentlemen, who volunteered to escort her. These were also under the Earl of Nottingham.

From Nottingham she went to Leicester, where the nobility and gentry were assembled with fifteen troops of horse, and where the county militia had been summoned. She then proceeded to Oxford and made

[1] Macaulay

an imposing entry into that city, the Earl of Northampton, with 500 horse, leading the van, preceded by the Bishop of London at the head of an escort of gentlemen, his lordship riding in a purple cloak and martial habit, with pistols in front and his sword drawn. On his coronet, in golden letters, were the words, "Nolumus leges Angliae mutari." The Vice-Chancellor, with the heads of the University, attended in scarlet gowns, and made a speech to her in English. Prince George received her at Christ's Church gateway.[1]

On 19th December, after the flight of James, she returned with her husband to Whitehall, where they were visited by the Prince of Orange. The Princess, on 24th July, 1689, gave birth to a son, who was baptized at Hampton Court with great pomp and public acclamation. King William was one of the sponsors. He bestowed his own name on his godson, and announced to the audience round the font that the child was to be called the Duke of Gloucester. It was evidently the case, so far as can be gathered, that Mary and Anne were not fitted to live together in comfort, not being at all in sympathy with each other. Mary grew weary of everybody who would not talk a great deal, and Anne was so silent that she rarely spoke more than was necessary to answer questions.[2] The Princess Anne's income was fixed by Parliament at £50,000 per annum. The King and Queen had never been on very good terms with her; when in good humour she was, it is said, "meekly stupid, when in bad humour sulkily stupid." She was naturally inclined to parsimony, and even when she was on the throne her equipages and tables were by no means sumptuous. In the Court of her father she continued to be deaf to all that could be urged for the Catholic faith, and in the Court of William she was equally deaf to any union among Protestants. In 1690 she gave birth to a daughter, which lived two hours. It was called Mary; and in 1692 she gave birth to her youngest and last child, which lived long enough

[1] Ellis's Original Letters. [2] Burnet.

to be baptized. When Queen Mary died, Anne wrote to King William assuring him of being as sensibly touched with the sad misfortune as if she had never been so unhappy as to fall into the Queen's displeasure, and asked leave to wait upon him as speedily as he wished. Very soon he received her at Kensington, treating her with extraordinary civility.[1] The King made over St. James's Palace to her and the Prince, and they took possession in the spring of 1696. The King desired to be on friendly terms with Anne and her husband, the result being that her star was now in the ascendant and her audience-chamber as crowded as it had formerly been deserted. This year King James states that he received a letter from his surviving daughter asking whether he would permit her to accept the crown should William die; and expressing her readiness to make restitution when opportunity should serve, and saying that a refusal of the crown by her would only remove him the further from the hope of receiving his rights. James declined to enter into any such scheme.[2]

In December, 1696, the Princess Anne was attacked with convulsions, and subsequently was seized with gout, from which she gradually recovered, and in the winter of 1697 she took a more decided lead in the amusements of the Court, for a time giving a ball every Monday at St. James's Palace, while the Prince followed the fashion by visiting Newmarket.[3] The King took a lively interest in the little Duke of Gloucester, the heir-apparent to the throne, and bestowed on him a vacant Garter. The installation took place with great splendour at Windsor in 1696. Gloucester was nine years old, and in settling a revenue for life on the King, after the Peace of Ryswick, Parliament took into account the expediency of a distinct household for the young Duke. Marlborough was appointed his governor, and the Bishop of Salisbury his preceptor. At the same

[1] Luttrell, vol. iii. [2] Clarke's James II., vol. ii.
[3] Luttrell.

time William appointed the little Prince to the honorary command of his Dutch Foot guards. William had appropriated to his own use a large share of £50,000 voted by Parliament for the education and household of the young Duke; nor could any entreaties of the Princess Anne induce him to allow her more than £15,000 of it. From this the Princess desired that a part might be advanced to purchase plate and furniture for the Duke's establishment, but the King refused. Passing on to 1699 there was a remarkable pageant on 2nd December of that year, when the Princess Anne, with her husband and the Duke of Gloucester, came tandem to St. James's Palace from Windsor, having eleven coaches with six horses each. On the 25th July following, the Princess Anne kept the birthday of her son, the young Duke, at Windsor, and next day he took ill, supposed to be of smallpox. The family physician tried to relieve him by bleeding, but in vain. When Radcliffe, the Queen's physician, arrived he declared it to be scarlet fever, and asked who had bled him. The physician in attendance said that he did it, on which Radcliffe remarked: "You have destroyed him, and you may finish him, for I will not interfere." The Princess, who tenderly watched over the child night and day, gave way to no violent bursts of agony—never wept; she was debating with an awakened conscience on the past, and meditating on the retributive justice of God.[1] The young Duke died five days after his birthday, 30th July, 1700. The Princess attended him during his sickness with a grave composedness which amazed all who saw it. She bore his death with a resignation that did her much honour. There is something pathetic as well as grotesque in the fact that from this date she called herself in correspondence with her friend, "Your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley."[2]

King William, who was at Loo, received an intimation of the death, but he took no notice of it. The

[1] Strickland. [2] Coxe, vol. i.

death of the young Duke was a great calamity, terminating, as it did, the Stuart succession. In October, William wrote Marlborough: "I do not think it necessary to employ many words in expressing my surprise and grief at the death of the young Duke; it is so great a loss to me, as well as to England, that it pierces my heart with affliction." This was the first expression of regret, and his words are full of significance. The Electress Sophia visited him at this period, probably to discuss that disagreeable subject the Succession, the great question of the hour. There is a letter from that lady preserved, evidently in reply to a proposition, in which she recommended to the consideration of the King the expatriated Prince of Wales.[1] William was evidently opposed to this proposal, as he left for England next day, before the lady's visit had expired.

One afternoon, shortly after the death of Gloucester, the Princess Anne noticed that she had no gloves on. She told the maid in attendance to fetch them from the next room, as she had left them on the table. In that room the maid found Lady Marlborough reading a letter. Her Grace had taken up the gloves by accident and had put them on. The maid informed her that she had put on the Princess's gloves. "Ah!" exclaimed her Grace, "have I put on anything that has touched the odious hands of that disagreeable woman?" Then pulling them off, she threw them on the ground, saying: "Take them away." When the maid returned to the Princess, she plainly perceived that she had heard every word. The matter, however, was kept a profound secret between them.[2] Where the writer of this incident found her information, we do not know, but we think it should be received *cum grano salis*. The Electress Sophia openly avowed that the young son of James II. had been permanently injured by the calumnies on his birth, and deeming him a true representative of the elder line of her illustrious ancestors, she considered he had a

[1] Hardwicke Papers. [2] Strickland.

right as a free agent to renounce the crown of his kingdom and the liturgy of the Church of England, as a Roman Catholic, before being superseded by her son or grandson. On 12th June, 1701, an Act of Settlement, which placed the Electress Sophia and her heirs in the succession, received the Royal assent. On 17th September following the ex-King, James II., died at St. Germains, and Louis XIV. at once recognised his son, the Chevalier, as King of England. This prompt and premature recognition of the Chevalier by the French King has been difficult to explain, and doubtless was the cause of James's subsequent misfortunes. Whether it was caused by the dying entreaties of James, or by a declaration of the Dauphin that the Bourbons could not desert the Prince of Wales because he was of their own blood, has not been determined.

The English Parliament met immediately, at which the Tories or Jacobites no longer commanded a majority. The Chevalier was attainted; and the men and money needed were voted for war with France. This was the policy of King William, who was always in want of men and money for military purposes. Shortly after the demise of James, his widow wrote to the Princess Anne, conveying his last blessing and forgiveness, with the prayer that God might convert her heart, and confirm her in the resolution to repair to his son the wrongs done to himself.[1] On the death of King William (8th March, 1702) the Princess Anne and Prince George, her husband, took possession of the Royal apartments at Kensington.

The members of both Houses of Parliament met next morning, although it was Sunday, and speeches suitable to the occasion were delivered. They resolved to present addresses of congratulation to the Princess Anne on her accession to the throne. The Princess received these august assemblies with much grace and dignity, and made official acknowledgment of the congratulatory addresses. She attended divine service

[1] Clarke's James II., vol. ii.

in St. James's Chapel, and same day was proclaimed Queen at St. James's Palace, Temple Bar and Cheapside. The Queen went in solemn state to the House of Lords on 11th March, accompanied by Lady Marlborough and two attendants. She wore a star on her breast, and seated herself on her throne in her Royal robes. The Commons were sent for, and she addressed both Houses in a sweet, thrilling voice, which she was known to have. The speech was the composition of her ministers. The Estates of Scotland were summoned for 13th March, and the Princess Anne was proclaimed Queen of Scotland by the Lyon King-at-arms.

The coronation took place by authority of Parliament on 23rd April following, at eleven o'clock a.m. The Princess was carried in a sedan-chair (gout prevented her from walking), from St. James's to Westminster Hall. Prince George, her husband, preceded in the procession by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Keeper of the Great Seal, walked before his Royal consort and her retinue. The great officers—the Earl Marischal, the Lord High Steward, and Lord High Constable, stood ready, by the Queen's State chair, at the command of Her Majesty, to distribute the Regalia to its appointed bearers. The way was covered from the steps of the throne at the King's Bench, Westminster Hall, to the steps of the Royal platform in the church with broad blue cloth spread upon boards railed in on each side. The footway was strewn with sweet herbs and flowers. Along the covered way the Princess was carried in an open chair. She had a long train, which was passed over the low back of her chair and borne by the Duchess of Somerset and her assistants. Lady Elizabeth Seymour aided her mother in the office of train-bearer, with Lady Mary Hyde, one of the Queen's cousins, and Lady Mary Pierrepoint, then a girl of thirteen, afterwards Lady Mary Wortley Montague. The Princess was escorted by the Lord Chamberlain and the Bishops of Durham and Exeter, and Lord Albemarle, Captain of the Guard. She rose and stood

by her chair while the Archbishop presented her to the people with these words, turning her and himself to the four sides of the platform, repeating them each time: "Sirs, I here present to you Queen Anne, undoubted Queen of the realm, whereas all you who are come this day to do your homage and service, are you willing to do the same?" The people responded with one loud and repeated acclamation, "God save Queen Anne!" The trumpets then sounded, and the choir burst into the anthem: "The Queen shall rejoice in Thy strength, O Lord! exceeding glad shall they be of Thy salvation. Thou shalt present her with the blessings of goodness, and shalt set a crown of pure gold upon her head." Queen Anne required the aid of sustaining hands to support her person in a standing position. She was the only infirm person ever crowned monarch of England, either before or since; she had only completed her thirty-seventh year. By the assistance of the bishops she reached the altar, where she went through the ceremonial of the first offertory. When the exhortation was heard: "Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty," Queen Anne had provided wherewithal to put in the gold basins, and duly made all her oblations. The offering of the sword on the altar, and the chanting of the litany followed. At the end of the Nicene Creed, which was begun by the Archbishop and sung by the choir, the Queen stood up. When the Creed was concluded the Archbishop of York presented himself to preach the sermon. The pulpit was placed near the Queen's chair; the text was: "Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and queens thy nursing mothers." The Archbishop of Canterbury, after the sermon, said: "Is your Majesty willing to make the declaration—the Protestant coronation oath?" The Queen replied: "I am willing." The oath was then read—the Queen audibly repeating the words, after which she subscribed it. The Archbishop: "Will you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of England, and dominions thereto belonging, according to the statutes of Parlia-

ment, and the laws and customs of the same?" She replied: "I solemnly promise to do so." "Will you to the utmost of your power maintain the laws of God, the true profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion established by law; and will you preserve unto the bishops and clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to their charge, all such rights and privileges as belong to them?" The Queen replied: "All this I promise to do." The Queen then rose from her chair, and assisted by the Lord Chamberlain, the sword of State carried before her, went to the altar, and made her solemn oath in sight of the people, to observe these promises. As she knelt on the steps of the altar, with her hand on the Bible, she said these words: "The things which I have promised, I will perform and keep, so help me, God." The anointing and all the ceremonies connected therewith proceeded according to ancient form. The Queen was then girt with the sword of St. Edward, and offered it at the altar. It was redeemed according to the usual form for 100 shillings, was unsheathed by the Earl of Oxford, and carried before the Queen during the rest of the ceremonial. She was then invested with the ring and staff. The coronation ring, put on the fourth finger of her right hand, was a ruby with the Cross of St. George engraved thereon. The Archbishop said: "Receive this ring, the ensign of kingly dignity, and of the defence of the Catholic faith; that as you are this day consecrated head of this kingdom and people, so being rich in faith and abounding in good works, you may reign with Him who is the King of Kings, to Whom be honour and glory for ever." The Archbishop then put the crown upon her head, when the people with loud shouts cried: "God save the Queen!" The trumpets sounded, and the Tower guns answered a signal of thundering discharges. The Archbishop then said: "God crown you with a crown of righteousness and virtue, of victory and honour. Be strong and of a good courage; fight the good fight of faith, that when you

have finished your course you may receive a crown of glory, honour, and immortality that fadeth not away." After these proceedings the Queen attended a coronation banquet; her husband, Prince George, dined at her table, sitting at her left hand. It was past eight o'clock in the evening before all was over, when the Queen was carried back to the Palace much fatigued. The Lord Chamberlain said that the Queen was very tired, and told Prince George he would be glad if he would propose going to bed. The Prince was enjoying himself with his companions drinking the Queen's health. "I cannot," said he. "I am Her Majesty's subject, have done and sworn homage to her to-day. I shall do nought but what she commands me." "Then," replied the Queen, laughing, "as that is the case, and I am very tired, I do command you, George." Her Majesty was obeyed. It seems a curious coincidence that the whole plate and linen used at this banquet is recorded to have been afterwards stolen by thieves. Shortly after the coronation Parliament assembled, and was opened by the Queen in person. Marlborough carried the sword of State before her, and Lady Marlborough accompanied her in her carriage. Her speech was very brief, and made reference to King William's project of a union of the two kingdoms. The Scottish Parliament met on 9th June, 1702, when the Marquis of Queensberry was appointed Lord High Commissioner; Lord Seafield, Lord Chancellor; Lord Tullibardine, afterwards Marquis of Atholl, Lord Privy Seal. In the election of the new Parliament the following autumn the Church question became prominent, and Tory High Churchmen were stronger in Anne's free Parliament than they had been in any since the Revolution.[1]

Parliament granted the Queen the same revenue as enjoyed by her predecessors, and she had in return announced her intention to contribute £100,000 out of it to the public service. The statesman in highest favour with the Queen was the Duke of Marlborough:

[1] Somerville.

he received the honour of the Garter and was appointed Commander of the Forces at home and abroad. Lady Marlborough was made Groom of the Stole and Mistress of the Robes, with control of the Privy Purse.

Among the very few incidents recorded of Prince George, we have the following:—On 1st September, 1703, he paid a visit *incog.* to Bristol, accompanied by a military companion. He and the Queen were resident for a few days at Bath where they had an overwhelming reception. He visited the Exchange and remained there until nearly everyone had left, none of them having the courage to offer him hospitality. The last man to leave the Exchange was John Duddlestone, a plain shopkeeper, who walked up to the Prince, saying: "Are you, sir, the husband of Queen Anne, as folks say you are?" The Prince replied in the affirmative. Duddlestone begged the Prince to accompany him home to dinner and bring his companion with him, if they could eat what he had to offer them—roast-beef, plum-pudding, and some ale of his wife's brewing. The Prince accepted the invitation. On arriving at the house of the host, Mrs. Duddlestone was told by her husband who the guests were, and she appeared in a clean blue apron, and according to the old English custom, was saluted by the Prince when she entered the parlour. When the Prince took leave, he gave his host his card and asked him to bring his wife to call at Windsor the first time he was in London. Duddlestone and his wife some time after visited Windsor, and were cordially received by the Queen and the Prince and invited to dine. The Queen thanked them for their hospitality to the Prince, after which she said they must have Court dresses for dinner, but she would supply them, they choosing the colour. They chose purple velvet. The suits were made and worn at the Royal dinner-party, at the close of which Duddlestone was knighted by the Queen; and when leaving, the Queen presented Mrs. Duddlestone with her own gold watch from her side, at which the good lady was much

delighted, and wore the watch regularly to the close of her life.[1]

On 27th February, 1703, the Queen in person prorogued the English Parliament till the 4th July. Her speech contained her approbation of the sentiments of the Tories, and gave a sanction which she could not afterwards revoke to that rancour against the dissolution which had already begun to ferment in the minds of the people, and afterwards burst with such fury as violated all public order and disgraced the name of religion. Her Majesty said that she hoped such of her subjects as had the misfortune to dissent from the Church of England would rest satisfied with the Act of Toleration which she was resolved to maintain; and that those who had the happiness to be of that Church would consider that she had received her education in it and would be sure to encourage it as by law established.

She then issued the following proclamation, dated 25th February, 1703:—

WE hereby strictly enjoin and prohibit all our loving subjects, of what degree or quality soever, from playing on the Lord's Day at dice, cards, or any other game, either in public or private houses or other places; and do hereby require and command them decently and reverently to attend the worship of God on every Lord's Day, on pain of our highest displeasure, and of being proceeded against with the utmost rigour of law. And for the more effectual reforming of all such persons who, by reason of their dissolute lives and conversations, are a scandal to the kingdom, we hereby strictly charge and command all our judges, sheriffs, justices of the peace, and other officers and ministers ecclesiastical and civil, to be vigilant and strict in the discovery and the effectual prosecution and punishment of idle persons who shall be guilty of excessive drinking, blasphemy, profane

[1] Corry's History of Bristol.

swearing, cursing, profanation of the Lord's Day, or other dissolute, immoral, or disorderly practices; and that they effectually suppress all brothels, public gaming-houses and places, and put in execution the statute made in the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Charles II.: "An act for the better observation of the Lord's Day, etc."; also an act passed in the ninth year of William III., "For the more effectual suppression of blasphemy and profaneness." Likewise that they take effectual means to prevent all persons keeping taverns, coffee-houses, or other public houses from selling wine, coffee, ale, or other liquors, or receiving or permitting guests to remain in their house on the Lord's Day, except in cases of necessity, as they shall answer to Almighty God. We do hereby command our judges of assize and justices of the peace to give strict charges for the prosecution and punishment of all persons who shall presume to offend in anything aforesaid; and also of all persons who, contrary to their duty, shall be remiss or negligent in putting the law into execution; and that they do at their respective assizes or Sessions of the Peace cause this proclamation to be publicly read in open court. And we command every minister in his parish church or chapel to read this proclamation at least four times every year immediately after divine service; and to incite and stir up their respective auditories to the practice of piety and virtue and the avoiding of immorality and profaneness. God save the Queen.

The Queen's want of moderation in eating made her relapses very frequent. After being in danger of gout in the head or stomach on Friday she, on the following Sunday, devoured nearly a whole fowl, and if this was the repast of a patient scarcely convalescent, it may be supposed her usual meals were too ample for a lady who took no exercise and performed no labour.

The Royal dinner-hour was three o'clock, and both the Queen and her husband manifested no little

uneasiness if ministers intruded at that time. At six o'clock was the usual time for the Queen's councils. On Sunday evening the most important Cabinet Councils were held. The Queen usually ate a hearty dinner, and writing after that meal was not easy to her.[1]

In the days of Queen Anne no clergyman ever appeared in the street or in his own home, when dressed for the day, without the black gown similar to that in which they at present preach. It was their everyday garment then and for half a century after.

The Convention Parliaments in Scotland now ceased,[2] and a new Scottish Parliament assembled on 6th May, 1703. It was opened with a brilliant function, the procession going from Holyrood to Parliament Square. The representatives of burghs went first, then the lesser barons or county members, after these the nobles. A herald called each name from a window in the palace, and another at the gate saw that he took his place in the train. All were on horseback, riding two abreast. Each burghal Commissioner had a lackey, and each baron two. The nobles were each followed by a train-bearer, and the Commissioner was attended by a swarm of decorative officers.

The Scottish Parliament sat in one house as an assembly. The Chancellor was chairman, and the officers of State clustered round him. Round and decorative benches at the end of the hall were for the use of the nobles. In the centre was a table, round which were seated the judges of the Court of Session and clerks of Parliament. Beneath this, on plain benches or forms, were seated the lesser barons and burgesses; strangers sat at the extremity of these seats. The chief officers of the Government and the judges of the Supreme Court had seats by right of office, but no

[1] Strickland

[2] These were Parliaments called without the writ of the King, whose enactments were afterwards ratified by a Parliament summoned conform to the provisions of the Constitution.

votes unless they were members.[1] At this Parliament the following letter, under date May, 1703, from Queen Anne was read :—"We are informed that there are many dissenters within the kingdom who, though they differ from the Established Church in opinion on the Church government and form, yet are of the Protestant religion ; some of whom are in possession of benefices, and others worship in meeting-houses. It is our Royal pleasure that they should be directed to live suitably to the reformed religion which they profess, submissively to our laws, decently and regularly, with relation to the Church established by law as good Christians and subjects ; and in so doing that they be protected in the peaceable exercise of their religion, and in their persons and estates, according to the laws of the kingdom. And we recommend to the clergy of the Established discipline their living in brotherly love and communion with such dissenters." At this Parliament the Presbyterian party were triumphant ; a Declaratory Act was passed ratifying and confirming the Church Establishment of the Revolution ; and it was at the same time made high treason to impugn any article of the Claim of Right. An act was passed restraining the right of the monarch to make war on the part of Scotland without the authority of the Scottish Parliament. The act for the security of the kingdom was introduced by Tweeddale, and hotly debated. It provided that on the death of the Queen without issue the Estates were to name a successor from the Protestant descendants of the Royal line of Scotland, but the admitted successor to the crown of England was excluded from their choice unless there were such conditions of Government as might secure the honour and sovereignty of the crown and kingdom, the freedom, frequency and power of Parliament, the religious freedom and trade of the nation from English and foreign influence. An act was passed stating that the union would be advantageous to the interests of the

[1] Hill Burton.

Protestant religion, and conducive to the prosperity, peace and happiness of both countries. The Queen was invited to appoint commissioners to treat with commissioners in England regarding it, and they expressed the conviction that the Presbyterian Church was indispensable to the peace and prosperity of Scotland, and reminded her that the form of government existing in the Church was founded on the Claim of Right, and could not now be disturbed without a violation of justice, and that when commissioners were named in the reign of King William to consider the question it was stipulated that the Scottish Church should not be affected. A large section of the clergy were opposed to the union. From the aversion to uniting with England, excited by religious prejudices, the situation of the clergy was, as anyone can suppose, both delicate and critical. Their influence could not be productive of important effects on the state of the country. If they had appeared indifferent to the union as affecting their religion, this would have forfeited the confidence of their congregations and lost their usefulness.[1]

At the meeting of the Scottish Parliament on 9th June, 1703, the Duke of Hamilton, in spite of the remonstrances of the High Commissioner, Queensberry, read the following protest:—"Forasmuch as by the fundamental laws and Constitution of the kingdom all Parliaments dissolve, by the death of the sovereign, except in so far as innovated by the 17th Act, sixth Session of King William's Parliament, in being at his decease to meet and act as should be needful for the defence of the Protestant religion, and maintaining the succession to the crown as settled by the Claim of Right, and for preserving and securing the peace and safety of the kingdom, and seeing that these ends are fully satisfied by Her Majesty's succession to the throne whereby the religion and peace of the country are secured, we are not now warranted by law to meet

[1] Somerville.

sit or act, and therefore we dissent from anything that shall be done." This protest displeased the Queen, and Hamilton and his supporters, who retired from Parliament, were censured. Hamilton, along with seventy-nine members, passed in a body from Parliament House to the Cross Keys Tavern near the Cross, amidst the acclamation of the people.[1] The remnant members, called the "Rump," notwithstanding this secession, proceeded to the despatch of business as if nothing had occurred. A bill on the last day of the sittings was introduced for abjuring the Pretender, but the High Commissioner abruptly adjourned Parliament until 18th August, and so stopped procedure.

The Scottish Parliament reassembled on 6th July, 1704. The Queen's speech named Lord Tweeddale to succeed Lord Queensberry as High Commissioner, and the Queen pleaded earnestly for the settlement of the succession. After this appeal there was a resolution not to name a successor to the crown until a satisfactory treaty was made with England for the regulation of commerce, and in the meantime to take measures for securing the independence of the nation. The Act of Security was tacked on to a bill of supply, and was passed without debate for the last time, and the High Commissioner was empowered to signify the Royal assent. The day after the Queen's birthday in 1704 she informed the Commons that she desired to grant for the benefit of the Church her entire revenue from tithes appropriated to the Crown in 1534, amounting to £16,000 a year. Queen Anne's Bounty, as this fund established by statute to carry out her wishes was called, remains a memorial of her piety and beneficence, more especially since its application has been extended to cognate purposes.[2]

The memorable battle of Blenheim took place on 13th August, 1704, when the English and Dutch forces, under

[1] This patriotic band, as it was called, was followed with shouts of applause to the tavern, where the night was spent in festivity.

[2] Stanhope's History.

Marlborough and Prince Eugene, obtained a great victory over the French and Bavarians and their allies. The general arrangement of the campaign, the disposition of the forces, the choice of ground, Marlborough's composure and presence of mind in the heat of the engagement, and his improvement of victory were evidence of great military genius. The loss of the enemy was estimated at 30,000, while Marlborough's was said to be 5,000 killed, and 8,000 wounded. This victory raised him to a high position in England, and on the Continent of Europe as the most distinguished military commander of the time. This was the greatest military achievement that occurred in Queen Anne's reign. On 7th September following there was a public thanksgiving service at St. Paul's in honour of this victory, when the Queen attended in state, her carriage being drawn by eight horses. She was resplendent with jewels, and was accompanied by Lady Marlborough in plain attire. On Marlborough's return home she insisted on making him a Duke, and settling on him for the term of his life an annual pension of £5,000. Her wish that it should be perpetual was negatived by the Commons. Parliament presented an address of thanks to Marlborough for this victory.

The last or third session of the English triennial Parliament was opened by the Queen on 24th October, 1704. After referring to the satisfaction expressed on the success of her arms, the Queen suggested the necessity of entering the supplies to enable her to carry on the war. She professed her desire to be kind and indulgent to all her subjects, and recommended the union with Scotland as essential for attaining the great ends the realm had in view. The supplies were granted, and amounted to five millions (currency not stated). The Queen promised to make the support of the Church her chief care. Lord Somers, though he had been deprived of the Great Seal by King William, in 1700 resumed his seat in Parliament, his great abilities marking him out as the most prominent member of

the House. It was thought he would have been again honoured with the Great Seal, but that never took place, doubtless because of the lukewarmness that existed between him and the Queen. On 15th November a proposition was brought forward that the Queen should invite to England the heir presumptive to the throne, the venerable Electress Sophia. The Queen was present at this debate; she declined the request, but took the occasion of sending the Garter to her cousin, the Electoral Prince. On 17th February, 1706, the Queen informed Parliament that in conformity with their application she proposed to convey to Marlborough and his heirs the interest of the Crown in the Manor of Woodstock, and requested supplies for clearing off the encumbrances. A bill for the purpose was thereafter introduced, passed both Houses without opposition, and received the Royal assent on 14th March. The Queen accompanied the grant with an order to erect at the Royal expense a palace, which, in memory of the victory, was to be called Blenheim.[1] Woodstock, famous for its Norman antiquity, its nymph-like baths, its mysterious and haunted bowers, is believed to have been built by Henry I. (Beauclerc), son of William the Conqueror, in the early days of the twelfth century. It is about ten miles from Oxford, and is famous in English history as having been the residence of some of the early kings. It was the Woodstock of Henry I. and Henry II. (Henry Plantagenet, grandson of Beauclerc). Here on 1st July, 1163, Malcolm IV. did homage to Henry II., and on 5th September, 1186, William the Lion was married here to Ermengarde. It was here that Geoffrey, Archbishop of York, was born. His father was Henry II., and his mother the fair Rosamond, famous in history from Rosamond's Labyrinth and Rosamond's Well, still to be seen at Woodstock. It was the home of Edward III., the friend of Baliol, and of Philippa the Good, wife of Edward. Their family

[1] Coxe.

of seven sons and four daughters were nearly all, it is said, born here, including their eldest son Edward, the Black Prince. The severance from the Crown of this ancient patrimony, so full of historic memories, was an act of the Queen which cannot be defended. No objection seems to have been raised against this act of vandalism. Marlborough's influence in Parliament was powerful, and in conjunction with that of his son-in-law, Godolphin, the Lord Treasurer, it was for the time paramount. We must remember that Marlborough was by King William appointed to the command of the English and Dutch troops on the Continent when William retired from that post on account of his duties in London. Marlborough returned to his military duties on the Continent in 1706, and defeated the French again at Ramilies, and compelled them to evacuate Spanish Flanders. A proclamation in commemoration of this victory was issued for a public thanksgiving, which on 29th June was celebrated with great solemnity, the Queen repairing to St. Paul's in the same imposing state as on the occasion of Blenheim. Addresses were sent in from all quarters, and the name of Marlborough was associated with that of the Queen in the national exultation. The resolution of the House of Commons on 3rd December, after thanking the Queen for her gracious speech, said: "And with all thankfulness to Almighty God we congratulate your Majesty on the signal victory obtained by your arms and those of your allies under the command of Marlborough at Ramilies: a victory so glorious and great in its consequences, and attended with such continual successes through the whole course of this year, that no age has equalled."

Blenheim Palace was erected at a cost to the realm of £240,000, in addition to which Marlborough advanced £60,000. It was designed by Sir John Vanburgh, and is a magnificent structure. In the grounds is a triumphal arch 130 feet high, surmounted by a statue of Marlborough.

On 16th April, 1705, the Queen visited Cambridge when she was received and entertained by the Duke of Somerset, Chancellor of the University. Isaac Newton, M.P. for the University, was on this occasion knighted Sir Isaac Newton. The Queen then visited Newmarket, where she bought a horse for 1,000 guineas, and presented it to her husband. The proposed accession of the House of Hanover was a subject Queen Anne refused to discuss. Her brother, James the Chevalier, she was anxious to convert to the Protestant faith, that he might succeed her, but notwithstanding her efforts, though he refused to renounce the Catholic faith, she still lived in hope. On 13th November, 1705, she sent the following communication to Marlborough :— "The disagreeable proposal of bringing some of the House of Hanover into England, which I have been afraid of so long, is now very near being brought into both Houses of Parliament, which gives me a great deal of uneasiness, for I am of a temper always to fear the worst. There has been assurance given that M. Shultz should have instructions to discourage the proposition, but as yet he has said nothing of them, which makes me fear there may be some alterations of this resolution at the Court of Hanover. I shall depend on your kindness and friendship to set them right in notions of things here, and if they will be quiet I may be so too ; or else I must expect to meet with a great many mortifications." [1]

On the 11th October, 1705, the Great Seal was taken from Sir Nathan Wright, supposed to have been at the instigation of Marlborough, who disliked him. This is a deduction from Marlborough's letter to the Queen of 29th September, 1705. It was bestowed on William Cowper, a distinguished barrister of the period. He stipulated that he should have for his equipage an outfit like his predecessor, £2,000, a salary of £4,000 per annum, and a peerage. On Cowper's arrival at Kensington Palace to receive the distinguised honour,

[1] Coxe's Marlborough.

the Queen said to him: "Mr. Cowper, I am very well satisfied of your fitness for the office of Keeper of the Great Seal, and I am pleased to give it to you," to which Cowper replied: "The honour your Majesty is pleased so graciously to bestow on me cannot make me more zealous and faithful to your interest than I have always been. I am very distrustful that I may not prove equal to so great a post; and all I can promise your Majesty with certainty is that I will behave myself with industry and honesty."

It was one of the duties of the office to attend the sovereign to chapel on Sunday. On the following Sunday, Cowper having conducted the Queen to her closet carrying the Great Seal, took his place in the chapel below. After sermon, a little before the anthem was finished, he went up to her and returned before her to her lodging again. A description of this ceremony at Greenwich Palace in Elizabeth's time is given by Paul Hentzer, a German: "It was Sunday, when there is usually the greatest attendance of the nobility. In the same hall were the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, Counsellors of State, officers of the Crown, and gentlemen who waited the Queen's coming out, which she did from her own apartment when it was time to go to prayers, attended in the following manner:—First went gentlemen, barons, earls, Knights of the Garter, all richly dressed and bare-headed. Next came the Lord Chancellor, bearing the Seals in a red silk purse, between two, one of which carried the Royal sceptre, the other the sword of State, in a red scabbard studded with golden *fleurs-de-lis*, the point upwards; next came the Queen, very majestic, etc." Cowper attended the Queen every Sunday morning to chapel, and every Sunday evening at six there was a Cabinet Council, at which the Queen presided, and all public business, foreign and domestic, was debated and determined upon. When the Queen withdrew she generally gave him an audience that he might take her pleasure in filling up vacancies in the church, and on

legal promotions. Prior to the accession of the Georges all important measures of the Government were supposed to be deliberated upon by the Cabinet in presence of the sovereign. On 23rd October Cowper took his seat in the Court of Chancery in Westminster Hall, having been escorted there by the high officers of State, peers, ministers and chief officers of the Crown. It was a great occasion, and an entry of it appears in Cowper's diary as follows :—"During these great honours done me I often reflected on the uncertainty of them, and even of life itself. I searched my heart and found no pride or self-conceit in it; and I begged of God that He would preserve my mind from relying on the transient vanity of the world, and teach me to depend only on His providence; that I might not be lifted up with the present success, nor dejected when the reverse should happen; that I might not be confounded or dismayed by the unusualness of my circumstances; and I verily believe I was helped by His Holy Spirit, from my sincere dependence on His good providence, in this great undertaking." Then follows an addition, which must have been made after his fall :—"Glory be to God who hath sustained me in adversity, and carried me through the malice of my enemies, so as that all designed for my hurt turned to my advantage."[1]

There was introduced into Parliament by Lord Somers an act for the better security of Her Majesty's person and government, and of the succession to the crown of England in the Protestant line. This bill made ample provision for the quiet succession of the Hanover family without wounding the feelings of Queen Anne by the presence of any of them in England. The bill therefore, strongly opposed by the Tories, was at last agreed to and received the Royal assent. It was so wisely framed that when the time arrived the Elector of Hanover succeeded as quietly to the throne as if he had been a Stuart. The decision of Parliament was

[1] Campbell's Lives.

communicated to him by Lord Somers in a long letter, under date 12th April, 1706.[1]

On the same subject Queen Anne wrote to the Elector of Hanover, under date Hampton Court, 20th April, 1706:—

Lord Halifax has always testified to your person and your interests. I gave him orders to present to you authentic copies of three acts which concern your family. The share which he has had in these acts renders him very fit to explain to you with what intention they have been formed, and I doubt not but that you will agree with me that nothing could more effectually secure the succession of your family. It is with this view I have given them my assent, having nothing in the world so much at heart as to preserve our religion and the tranquillity of my subjects by leaving these kingdoms to the mild dominion of my Protestant heirs. I have given orders to Lord Halifax to assure you that on all occasions I consider your interests as my own, and as a small proof of my esteem and affection for your family I have made my cousin, the Electoral Prince, a Knight of the Order of the Garter, which is a dignity that my ancestors always conferred on those whom they most esteemed, and of which the greatest princes in Europe are ambitious. The earnestness of Halifax to obey my orders and his zeal for his country equally qualify him to discharge this commission. I beseech you to be so good as to honour him with your confidence when he enters on these subjects, and when he tells you with what sincerity I am, etc.,

ANNE R.[2]

The Lord Treasurer Godolphin having recommended Lord Sunderland, his son-in-law, to the Queen for the appointment of Secretary of State, received from her the following wise and judicious answer:—

[1] *See* the text of this letter, Lives of the Chancellors, vol. v., p. 160.
[2] Macpherson's Stuart Papers.

The difficulties I labour under at this time are so great and so uneasy to me that they will not suffer me any longer to keep my thoughts to myself, and I choose this way of explaining them to you rather than endeavour to begin to speak and not be able to go on. I have been considering the business we have so often spoken about, and cannot but continue of the same mind, that it is a great hardship to persuade anyone to part with a place they are in possession of in hope of another that is not yet vacant. Besides, I must own freely to you I am of opinion that making a party man Secretary of State when there are so many of their friends in employment of all kinds already, is throwing myself into the hands of a party, which is a thing I have been desirous to avoid. Some may think I would be willing to be in the hands of the Tories, but whatever people may say of me, I assure you I am not inclined, nor ever will be, to employ any of these violent persons who have behaved so ill to me. All I desire is my liberty in encouraging and employing all those who concur faithfully in my service, whether Whigs or Tories, not to be tied to the one or the other, for if I should be so unfortunate as to fall into the hands of either, I shall not imagine myself, though I have the name of Queen, to be in reality but their slave, which, as it will be my personal ruin, so it will be the destroying of all government, for instead of putting an end to faction it will lay a lasting foundation for it. You press the bringing Lord Sunderland into business that there may be one of that party in a place of trust to help to carry on the administration this winter, and you think if this is not complied with they will not be hearty in pursuing my service in Parliament. But is it not very hard that men of sense and honour will not promote the good of their country because everything in the world is not done as they desire, when they may be assured Lord Sunderland shall come into employment as soon as it is possible? Why, for God's sake, must I, who have no interest, no end, no thought, but for the good of my country, be made so miserable as to

be brought into the power of one set of men? and why may not I be trusted, since I mean nothing but what is equally for the good of all my subjects? There is another apprehension I have of Lord Sunderland being Secretary, which I think is a natural one, and proceeds from what I have heard of his temper. I am afraid he and I should not agree long together, finding by experience my humour, and those that are of a warmer will, often have misunderstandings between one another. I could say a great deal more, but I fear I have been too tedious already. Therefore I shall conclude, begging you to consider how to bring me out of my difficulties, and never leave my service for Jesus Christ's sake, for besides the reason I give you in another letter, this is a blow I cannot bear.

The greatest event in the reign of Queen Anne was the famous Treaty of Union, a scheme, it may be said, she was personally responsible for carrying through. The idea originated with the Prince of Orange, but he died before he had initiated the movement. Queen Anne at his death recognised its vast importance, and the duty incumbent on her to carry it out.

It was a gigantic problem, and it was the great object of her life to accomplish it. In its first stages her own ministers were indifferent, and the Scottish Parliament completely against it. For the Scots there is much to be said, as the reasons which they put forward were not at all visionary, nor were they conjectural: they were substantial. The persecution and civil war they had endured at the hands of Charles II. and his brother James, and the indifference of the Prince of Orange to Scotland, were powerful obstacles. They objected also to have anything to do with the National Debt, and justly so, as England's debt was estimated at twenty millions sterling; Scotland having practically nothing. Another question was the representation of Scotland in the united Parliament, a point they were determined to stand up for. On 1st September, 1705, before the

union, commissioners were appointed, the draft of a scheme was brought before the Scottish Parliament, and the text of it subjected to the most persistent debate. The question then arose: Were the commissioners who were to be entrusted with this momentous movement to be appointed by the Queen or by Parliament? (The Jacobites were opposed to any union.) The Duke of Hamilton, as leader of the Jacobites, was expected to oppose a Crown nomination, but he proposed that their appointment should be made by the Queen, and his motion was adopted. On a vote being taken on the general question, the proposal for a union was approved by a majority. The official document, ordering the appointment of thirty-one commissioners for each kingdom, was issued for Scotland on 17th February, and for England on 10th April, 1706, and these commissioners, whose names will be found on page 484, were duly appointed. Their first meeting took place on 16th April following, in the old Council Chambers of the Cockpit at Whitehall. This was a set of chambers built on the site of the old Cockpit, and converted into Privy Council offices in the reign of the Prince of Orange; but the old name was continued till the days of George III. The Keeper of the Great Seal and the Chancellor of Scotland exchanged friendly speeches at this meeting as an appropriate beginning. The commissioners adjourned for six days and met again on 22nd April, when the syllabus for their deliberations was adjusted. The remit appears to have been that the two kingdoms of England and Scotland be for ever united into one kingdom to be called Great Britain; that the United Kingdom be represented by one and the same Parliament; and that the succession to the crown, in case of failure of heirs of Her Majesty's body, be according to the limitations mentioned in an act passed in the twelth and thirteenth year of the late King William, entitled: "An Act for the further limitation of the Crown and the better securing the rights of the

subject." The objections of the Scottish commissioners, as it appeared, were met in a friendly spirit. In the matter of Parliamentary representation, the Scottish Parliament consisted of 160 ordinary members and 145 nobles, making a gross number of 305. The English House of Commons numbered 513, House of Lords, 185—total, 698. After prolonged discussion the English commissioners, being assured by those from Scotland "that there will be insuperable difficulties in reducing the representation in the united Parliament to thirty-eight members, the number formerly proposed, do, to show their inclination to remove everything that would be an obstruction to perfecting the union, propose that forty-five members, and no more, be the number of representatives for Scotland after the union." The Scottish peers obtained the privilege of peerage enjoyed by the English nobility, which afforded them for the first time perpetual exemption in case of debt from arrest, a boon which was highly prized by the Scottish nobles of that period. In the new House of Lords Scotland would have sixteen representative peers. The Scottish Church was excluded from the deliberations by special arrangement. The Commission sat till 23rd July, 1706, when it finally completed its deliberations. A draft of its proceedings was immediately sent to the Queen for submission to Parliament, and was delivered to her with appropriate speeches from either side. Twenty-seven of the English commissioners and twenty-six of the Scots signed the document. The Scottish Parliament met on 3rd October, 1706, with great pomp and formality. The officers of State, nobility and gentry, rode from Holyrood to Parliament House, and no expense was spared to render their dress and equipage magnificent. The union movement gave Parliament additional importance, and many of all ranks resorted from the country to Edinburgh to be spectators of the debate. The Marquis of Queensberry, High Commissioner, occupied the throne, and the Earls of Mar and

Loudoun were assistant commissioners. A communication was read from the Queen urging the advantage of the union :—"It will secure your religion, liberty and property, remove the anomalies among yourselves, and the jealousies and differences between the two kingdoms. It must increase your strength, riches and trade; and by it the whole island, being joined in affection and free from all apprehension of different interests, will be enabled to resist its enemies, support the Protestant interest everywhere, and maintain the liberties of Europe." The message was supported by speeches from Lords Queensberry and Seafield, after which the treaty itself, as approved by the commissioners, was produced and read, and the House thereafter adjourned.

During these proceedings the Queen would appear to have given the Lords of the Treasury the loan of the sum of £20,000 from the Privy purse, more particularly explained in the following paper :—

TREATY OF UNION.—*The Queen to the Earl of Godolphin aud Lords of the Treasury* :—Whereas there has been many representations made to us by our servants, and by those who have been employed in our service, desiring payment of what is justly owing to them by us, we did thereupon order you to lay before us the state of these funds, and it appearing that they are entirely exhausted and pre-engaged for some time to come, so that there remains nothing at present for defraying the charges of the Government, or paying the debts of the Civil List; and being desirous to do all that lies in our power for defraying these charges, which is indispensably necessary, and enabling you in some measure to pay such parts of the debts of the Civil List as we shall direct, we have remitted to you the sum of £20,000 sterling, to be used for the purposes mentioned, in such manner as you shall find most suitable for our service For which sum you will account to us and pass an act of the Treasury acknowledging that you have received it

in loan, to be refunded to us out of the funds of the Civil List, and that at such time as we shall demand the same. For doing of which this shall be your warrant.

Given at our Court at Windsor, 12th August, 1706.

This transaction is mysterious, and we have nothing more on record about it.

SARAH, DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH.

Queen Anne's Companion.

(*From a Portrait by Sir Peter Lely, in the Duke of Devonshire's Collection.*)

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CHAPTER XIV.

Sittings of the Commissioners at Edinburgh—Stipulations of the Treaty of Union—Signatories to the Treaty—Bribery of Scots Commissioners—Letter, the Queen to Marlborough—Address by Parliament to the Queen—The Chevalier's declaration—The Queen and Lady Marlborough—The Queen and Marlborough—The Queen and the Chevalier—Trial and sentence of Sacheverel—The Marlborough quarrel—The Queen's letter to Godolphin—Dismissal of the Earl of Godolphin—Marlborough to complete Blenheim—St. John, Mrs. Masham, and the Chevalier—Somers dismissed from Office—Cowper resigns the Great Seal—Queen opens Parliament—Proposal to dissolve Union—Lady Marlborough dismissed from Office—The Toleration Act—Guiscard and Harley Incident.

REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

A.D. 1702—1714.

THE Scottish Parliament met again on 12th October, for the further consideration of the union, but it moved slowly, the Scottish people being far from showing any enthusiasm. Since the union of the crowns, their connection with England had been anything but reassuring, and the proposed union they viewed with suspicion, not being able to forecast its ultimate results. It need, therefore, surprise no one that the union was unpopular in Scotland. The disturbed condition of Edinburgh, and Scotland generally, so intimidated the Lord High Commissioner and the Chancellor that they thought of adjourning Parliament, a step which it is said might have proved fatal to the union. Petitions were sent in against it from all parts of the kingdom. In the Scottish Parliament of 4th November following, there was a strong feeling of opposition manifested. The first speaker, the Duke of Hamilton, said: "Shall we in half an hour yield what our forefathers maintained with

their lives and fortunes for many ages? Are none of the descendants here of those worthy patriots who defended the liberty of their country against invaders, who assisted King Robert Bruce to restore the Constitution and avenge the falsehood of England and the usurpations of Baliol. Where are the Douglases and the Campbells? Where are the peers? Where are the barons, once the bulwarks of the nation? Shall we yield up the sovereignty and independence of Scotland, when we are commanded by those we represent to preserve the same, and are assured of their assistance to support us? Lord Belhaven, who violently opposed the union, said: "What hinders us, my lord, to lay aside our division, to unite cordially and heartily together in our present circumstances, when our all is at stake? Hannibal, my lord, is at our gates. Hannibal is come the length of this table; he is at the foot of the throne; he will demolish the throne if we take no notice; he'll seize upon these Regalia; will take them as our *spolia opima*, and whip us out of this House never to return. For the love of God, then, for the safety and welfare of our ancient kingdom, whose sad circumstances I hope we shall yet convert into prosperity and happiness; we want no means if we unite: God blesseth the peacemakers; we want neither men nor sufficiency of all manner of things to make a nation happy. . . . Good God! what is this? an entire surrender! My lord, I find my heart so full of grief and indignation that I must beg pardon not to finish the last part of my speech, that I may drop a tear on the prelude to so sad a story." Lord Marchmont stood up and said "they had heard a long speech, and a very terrible one, from Lord Belhaven, but he thought a short answer would suffice. Behold, he dreamed; but lo! when he awoke, behold it was a dream!" This was followed by a season of rioting in Edinburgh, which was only put down by the military.

On 20th November following a body of horsemen from the surrounding country rode into Dumfries, and forming themselves at the market-place, made a fire,

in which they burnt the Articles of the Treaty and the names of the Scots Commissioners, leaving a document attached to the Cross in which, in spirited language, they maintained that the people were not bound by the acts of the Commissioners and Parliament, but were under solemn obligation to discard these betrayers and stand by the old national independence.[1] The final ratification of the measure, on which the Scottish Parliament had been occupied since the 12th of October, apart altogether from the special commissioners, and after various meetings had been held, did not take place till the 16th January, 1707, when the passing of an act ratifying and approving the Treaty of Union was put to the vote, and carried by 110 to 69. The act was then touched with the sceptre by the High Commissioner, and the labours of the last Scottish Parliament were now nearly at an end. On 25th March, 1707, at a final meeting, the High Commissioner delivered a short speech, and assured them that posterity would reap the benefit of their labours; and with that speech, the last delivered in that historic hall when occupied by the Scottish Parliament, the curtain fell on the life-drama of the nation. The Scottish Parliament never met again. The Commissioner departed for London formally to place the act of the Scottish Estates in the hands of the Queen. He was received by a great procession of the high officers of the realm in coaches and on horseback, and in this fashion was conducted into London on 16th April, 1707.

The Queen communicated to the English Parliament verbally the important intelligence from Scotland. She expressed the lively satisfaction she felt at the near prospect of witnessing the completion of the great measure, which she trusted would prove a permanent blessing to the whole island, a source of increased wealth and power, and a security for the maintenance of the Protestant religion. The scheme, after being fully discussed, was passed by the English Parliament,

[1] Hill Burton.

and received its final ratification when the Queen proceeded to the House to give it her Royal assent. She said: "My lords and gentlemen, it is with the greatest satisfaction I have given my assent to a bill for uniting England and Scotland into one kingdom. I consider this union a matter of the greatest importance to the wealth, strength and safety of the whole island; and at the same time as a work of so much difficulty and nicety in its own nature, that till now all attempts which have been made towards it in the course of fully 100 years have proved ineffectual; and therefore I make no doubt but it will be remembered and spoken of hereafter to the honour of those who have been instrumental in bringing it to so happy a conclusion. I desire and expect from all my subjects of both nations that from henceforth they act with all possible respect and kindness to one another, that so it may appear to all the world that they have hearts disposed to become one people. This will be a great pleasure, and make us all quickly sensible of the good effects of this union. I cannot but look upon it as a peculiar happiness that in my reign so full provision is made for the peace and quiet of my people, and for the security of our religion by so firm an establishment of the Protestant succession throughout Great Britain." Queen Anne then signed the Articles of Union, and ratified them with great state, in presence of the ministers and members of both Houses of Parliament and the Scots Commissioners. In signing the papers, she said: "The union with Scotland is the happiness of my life." On the same day—24th April, 1707—she dissolved the English Parliament, and summoned the first united Parliament of Great Britain to meet on 23rd October following. She celebrated the accomplishment of the union by a national festival, and afterwards went in magnificent state procession to St. Paul's on May-Day, 1707. The Articles of Union were engrossed and enrolled, and the originals lodged for preservation in the Tower of London. A duplicate copy of the whole, under the

Great Seal of England, was then transmitted to Scotland, and the union, in terms of the Treaty, appointed to take effect from 1st May, 1707.

Whatever we may think of Queen Anne's capability for administering the crown, there can be but one opinion as to her responsibility for achieving this great national event. A critical examination of history during her reign convinces the reader that the union was always uppermost in her mind. In its initiatory stages it was far from being popular in either country, but the Queen had a liberal share of the traditions of her ancestors, and further, she believed this scheme was a legacy to her from her brother-in-law, and whatever might be the opposition to it, she was determined to carry it out at the point of the bayonet. She succeeded, but the resumé we have given of the negotiations shows that but for her untiring energy it would not have been carried out during her reign. Posterity will recognise the claims of Queen Anne to their gratitude respecting this great event, which has been the foundation of Britain's greatness.

The principal stipulations of the Treaty of Union were the incorporation of England and Scotland into the United Kingdom of Great Britain, the succession to the crown to be the same as that of England. There was to be one Parliament in which the Scottish peers would be represented by sixteen of their number, elected each Parliament, and forty-five Scots members were to sit in the House of Commons. All rights and privileges were to be communicated between the subjects of both kingdoms unless when otherwise agreed. Scotland was to retain her courts of session and justiciary, and to have a separate seal for private rights and grants. The laws of trade, customs and excise in Scotland to be assimilated to those of England, and the coinage, weights and measures of both countries to be uniform. In other matters the laws of Scotland to remain in force, but might be altered by the Parliament of Great Britain. The separate Privy Council of Scotland was abolished.

Ireland remained a distinct kingdom till 1801, when it was united to Great Britain. By the terms of the union the Irish Parliament was abolished, and Ireland represented in the British Parliament by four lords spiritual and twenty-eight lords temporal in the House of Lords, and one hundred and twenty members in the House of Commons. Power was reserved to the King to create one peer of Ireland for every three extinct peerages, and when the Irish peerage was reduced to one hundred to create one peer for each one that became extinct, so as to keep the Irish peerage up to one hundred, exclusive of those who are peers of Great Britain. The Churches of England and Ireland were united into one Protestant Episcopal Church, while in England the Episcopal was authorised, and in Scotland the Presbyterian.

The Commissioners to the Treaty of Union were :—

For England.	For Scotland.
The Archbishop of Canterbury.	Earl of Seafield, Chancellor.
The Archbishop of York.	Earl of Queensberry.
Earl of Godolphin.	Earl of Mar.
Earl of Pembroke.	Earl of Loudoun.
Earl of Montgomery.	Earl of Sutherland.
Earl of Newcastle.	Earl of Morton.
Earl of Devonshire.	Earl of Wemyss.
Earl of Somerset.	Earl of Leven.
Earl of Bolton.	Earl of Stair.[1]
Earl of Sunderland.	Earl of Rosebery.
Earl of Kingston.	Earl of Glasgow.
Earl of Carlisle.	Lord Campbell.
Earl of Oxford.	Lord Dupplin.
Earl of Townshend.	Lord Ross.
Earl of Wharton.	Lord Dalrymple.
Lord Somers.	Lord Cockburn.
Lord Halifax.	Sir Robert Dundas.
Lord Hartington.	
Lord Granby.	

[1] Lord Stair died suddenly from the effects of anxiety and over-exertion just as the last article of the treaty was carried and the perils and difficulties were over.

Commoners.	Commoners.
Messrs. Smith, George Powlett, Hodges, Harley, Boyle, Hart, Trevor, Northy, Harcourt, Cooke, Stephen Walker.	Messrs. Stewart, Montgomery, Dalrymple, Ogilvy, Johnston, Smollett, Lockhart, Morrison, Alexander Grant, jun., Seton, Clarke, Hugh Montgomery, Daniel Stewart, Donald Campbell, and the Provost of Edinburgh.

The first representative peers for Scotland after the union were :—Atholl, Mar, Eglinton, Kinnoull, Loudoun, Findlater, Selkirk, Northesk, Dundonald, Breadalbane, Dunmore, Orkney, Rosebery, Portmore, Kilsyth and Balmerino.

It seems hard to believe that the Scottish Commissioners, to induce them to consent to the union, were bribed with a large sum of money out of the English Exchequer. The matter is very discreetly dealt with in a work that cannot be called in question,[1] and the fact must arouse feelings of surprise. On 23rd July, 1706, on the completion by the commissioners of the articles constituting the union, Lord Somers, one of the English commissioners, attended the Queen at St. James's Palace, when they were delivered to her to be submitted to the English and Scottish Parliaments. When the measure was afterwards finally carried through, Somers insisted on the abolition of the Scottish Privy Council. "After all," says the historian, "I am afraid that the measure was successful less by the talents of Somers than by the money remitted to bribe the Scottish nobles and leading commissioners, for both the Scots and Irish unions were negotiated on the principle thus propounded by Prior—

> The end must justify the means,
> He only sins who ill intends ;
> Since therefore 'tis to combat evil
> 'Tis lawful to employ the devil."

In regard to this matter we are further informed by Lockhart,[2] who says :—"I shall give a very clear and distinct account of it as it was discovered and reported

[1] Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors. [2] Memoirs.

to the British Parliament by the commissioners appointed in 1711 for examining the Public Accounts." He states that the money was applied for under the pretence of a loan to pay arrears of salary, which it was equally inconvenient at such a juncture to leave unpaid or to raise by taxation. The money was sent without the usual formalities. It was distributed by the Earl of Glasgow, who gave in to the commissioners on oath the statement of payments, which he repeats. The inquiry was instituted by the Harley and St. John Ministry for the purpose of bringing contumely on their Whig predecessors. It was on their report that Marlborough was dismissed. The committee were directed to inquire if the money had been repaid, when Lord Glasgow stated that £12,325 had been paid, but this repayment could not be traced, nor is there any record that any part of the gross sum was ever repaid. The statement about arrears of salary is a fiction; England had nothing to do with Scottish salaries.

The money appears in the Public Accounts as having been paid as under:—

	£.	s.	d.
Earl of Marchmont,	1,104	15	7
Duke of Atholl,	1,000	0	0
Marquis of Tweeddale,	1,000	0	0
Duke of Roxburgh,	500	0	0
Earl of Balcarres,	500	0	0
Earl of Cromarty,	300	0	0
Lord Prestonhall,	200	0	0
Lord Ormiston, Justice Clerk,	200	0	0
Lord Anstruther,	300	0	0
Stewart of Castle Stewart,	300	0	0
Duke of Montrose,	200	0	0
Earl of Dunmore,	200	0	0
Earl of Eglinton,	200	0	0
John Campbell,	200	0	0
Lord Fraser,	100	0	0
Sir William Sharp,	300	0	0
Earl of Seafield, Chancellor,	490	0	0
Earl of Kintore,	200	0	0
Earl of Forfar,	100	0	0
Sir Kenneth Mackenzie,	100	0	0
Earl of Glencairn,	100	0	0
Earl of Findlater,	100	0	0
John Mure, Provost of Ayr,	100	0	0
Major Cunningham of Ecket,	100	0	0
Alexander Wedderburn,	75	0	0
Lord Cessnock of Polwarth,	50	0	0
Lord Forbes,	50	0	0
Lord Elibank,	50	0	0
Messengers,	60	0	0
Coultrain, Provost of Wigtown,	25	0	0
Lord Banff,	11	2	0
The Commissioners for equipage and daily allowance,	12,325	0	0
Total,	20,540	17	7

Another historian[1] supplements this information with an entry that makes the situation more unintelligible than ever.

The "Equivalent money," which was to smooth all impediments to the practical working of the union, consisted of £398,085 paid to Scotland as indemnity for a certain portion of the National Debt then first saddled on Scotland, which henceforth bore an equality of taxation with England for the purpose of paying the interest. None of this money found its way into the hands of the people. Many showed their indignation by pelting the twelve waggons which carried it through Edinburgh to the gates of the castle. No sooner was it lodged in the castle than a plot was concocted to seize it by force or fraud, and effect a division different from that intended by the Queen's ministers. This money rested safely in Edinburgh Castle until it was divided among those who had earned it. The pride of the Scots was deeply hurt at the loss of their Parliament, and the kingly dignity of their separate and independent nation. The following is a specimen of the squibs that appeared at the time:—

Fareweel to a' our Scottish fame,
Fareweel our ancient glory;
Fareweel e'en to our Scottish name
Sae famed in martial story.

Now Sark rins o'er the Solway Sands,
And Tweed rins to the ocean;
To mark where England's province stands—
Sic a parcel of rogues in a nation.

We are not likely to get any more light on this subject, and the question must therefore be left where it is.

On 4th May, 1707, Lord Cowper was by the Queen in Council, chosen Lord Chancellor of Great Britain in the first Parliament after the union. On the assembling of the united Parliament on the 23rd October, 1707, the

[1] Strickland.

Queen said: "It is with all humble thankfulness to Almighty God, and with entire satisfaction to myself, that I meet you here in this first Parliament of Great Britain; not doubting but you come with hearts prepared as mine is to make the union so prosperous as may answer the well-grounded hopes of all my good subjects, and the reasonable apprehensions of our enemies."

Prince George, the Queen's husband, died at Kensington Palace on the 28th October, 1708. The Queen watched devotedly over him during his illness, which lasted some months. On 11th November, the body was conveyed to the Painted Chamber, Westminster, and lay in state one day only before interment. It was then deposited in the Royal vault in Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey. For two months after this the Queen saw no visitors, nor did she appear in public until her birthday the following year. Lady Marlborough had pressed her sympathy on the Queen in the last stage of the Prince's illness, and had been present at his death. At St. James's one evening Lady Marlborough indulged in some unseemly sarcasms against her mistress, adding that the Queen had bits of great tenderness for the Prince: "I did see the tears in her eyes two or three times after his death, and I believe she fancied that she loved him. She was certainly more concerned for him than she was for Gloucester (her son), but her nature was very hard, and she was not apt to cry."

To the end of the year 1708 Lord Somers continued as a member of Parliament only, without office and without a seat in the Cabinet; but confidentially consulted by ministers (though he was a Whig), and lending them all the help he could, both in and out of Parliament. In a pasquil of the period he is thus referred to:—

> Somers, by nature great and born to rise,
> In counsel wary and in conduct wise,
> His judgment steady and his genius strong
> And all men own the music of his tongue.

Various efforts were made to get Somers into the Privy Council, and notwithstanding the statements of some writers, that the Queen gave way and agreed to his admission, we find no confirmation of it. The following letter, written by her to Marlborough, indicates plainly her opinion :—

KENSINGTON, *3rd May*, 1708.

The occasion of my writing you is to give you an account of a visit I had yesterday from the Lord Privy Seal and the Lord Steward, in which they proposed my taking Lord Somers into the Cabinet Council without giving him any employment, since I could not be prevailed on to make him President; laying a great stress on its being necessary for my service. Their arguments did not at all convince me of the reasonableness or propriety of the thing. All the answer I made was that the proposition was a very new thing, and that I thought there were enough in the Cabinet already; that I depended on their assistance in carrying on my business, and had no thoughts of employing any but those who served me well in Parliament, and *had no leaning to any others*, and would countenance all who served me faithfully. This morning I gave this opinion to the Lord Treasurer, who had heard nothing of the matter; but joined in the Duke's proposal, using a great many arguments to persuade me to comply with it; and I must own did not convince me any more than what I heard before on the same subject; though I have a much greater respect for him than for either of the others: looking upon it as utter destruction to me to bring Lord Somers into my service. And I hope you will not join in soliciting me in this thing, though the Lord Treasurer tells me that you will; for it is what I can never consent to.

The Queen never liked the Whigs, as she was hostile to religious toleration, and would have relished highly the doctrine of the divine right of kings if it could

have been made consistent with her own title to the throne; yet even she found it convenient for a time to dissemble and appear to be reconciled to the new Lord President, for whom, from the beginning of her reign, she had shown the most marked dislike. He now had frequent access to her, and from his polished and deferential manners, he must have made some progress in removing her prejudices against him. All the time, however, she had secret conferences with Harley, the leader of the Opposition, who, on account of his principles (Toryism), enjoyed all her confidence, although she complained that he occasionally came to her under the influence of liquor.

The Parliamentary session of 1708-09 opened by placing the Chancellor in a delicate position. Both Houses, on the occasion of the Prince's death, resolved to present a joint address to the Queen, to be delivered by the Lord Chancellor, who should be one of a committee for drawing it up. On his suggestion the following address was adopted:—"We, your Majesty's most loyal and dutiful subjects, etc., being truly and deeply sensible of the great blessings we have enjoyed during your Majesty's most glorious reign, do humbly conceive we should be inexcusably wanting to ourselves and the whole kingdom if we should neglect to use our most zealous endeavours that these blessings may be derived down to future ages. And therefore, with hearts full of profound respect and duty to your Royal person, we humbly beseech your Majesty graciously to consider the universal desire and humble supplication of your faithful subjects: that you would not so far indulge your just grief as to decline the thoughts of a second marriage. This would be an unspeakable joy to your people, who would join their most fervent prayers to Almighty God to bless your Majesty with Royal issue; all of them concurring in this opinion that no greater happiness can be desired for your kingdom than that they and their children may long continue under the gentle and gracious government

of your Majesty and your posterity." In acknowledging receipt of this rather peculiar communication, the Queen, much embarrassed, after expressing her gratitude for the marks of affection she received from the two Houses, and her anxiety for the Protestant succession, concluded: "The subject of this address is of such a nature that I am persuaded you do not expect a particular answer."

Marlborough cast in his lot with the Whigs, and in reply to his threat of resignation, the Queen, on 27th August, summed up her case by declaring herself desirous of encouraging those Whig friends who behave themselves well, but unwilling to have anything to do with those who have shown themselves to be of a tyrannising temper; and not to dwell further on these subjects: "I think things are come to this: whether I shall submit to the five tyrannical lords, or they to me."[1] In the meantime an open quarrel had taken place between the Queen and Lady Marlborough because of the Queen's preference of Mrs. Masham. The result was a brief but sarcastic correspondence, followed on 20th September, 1708, by an interview. It ended in Lady Marlborough being sent angrily away. The union negotiations and the succession to the crown had been no sooner completed than the Government of Queen Anne had to face another difficulty: they had still to reckon with the Chevalier. That gentleman was not idle. He was determined to have his crown, and to succeed to the throne of his ancestors as King of Scotland. He was resolved to accomplish his object by force, notwithstanding the fact that his religion disqualified him. In his own interest he was a foolish man, for, had he become Protestant, Queen Anne would have adopted him as her successor; but following the traditions of his ancestors, he was too "pig-headed" to listen to reason, and determined to have his own way. The following remarkable narrative on the sublect appears in the

[1] Coxe, vol. ii.

Stuart Papers:—"Declaration of war, with instructions to Colonel Hooke, February, 1707. James the Eighth, by the grace of God, King of Scotland, England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; to all our loving subjects of our ancient kingdom of Scotland, greeting. Whereas we are firmly resolved to repair to our said kingdom and there to assert and vindicate our undoubted right, and to deliver all our good subjects from the oppression and tyranny they groan under, for above these eighteen years past, and to protect and maintain them in their independence and all their just privileges which they so happily enjoyed under our Royal ancestors, as soon as they have declared for us. We do therefore hereby empower, authorise, and require all our loving subjects to declare for us, and to assemble together in arms, and to join the person whom we have appointed to be Captain-General of our forces, when required by him, and to obey him, and all others under his command, in everything relating to our service; to seize the government and all forts and castles, and to use all acts of hostility against those who shall traitorously presume to oppose our authority, and to lay hold and make use of what is necessary for the arming, mounting, and subsisting of our forces, and obstructing the designs of our enemies; for all which you are hereby warranted and indemnified." Colonel Hooke was instructed:—"You are forthwith to repair to Scotland and endeavour to meet with as many of our friends as you can, to deliver to them our letters by which they are to give credit to what you propose in our name. You will show them the necessity of taking this opportunity of vindicating our right and their privileges and independence, which, if neglected, may never be retrieved. As soon as they appear in arms and have declared for us, we shall come in person to their assistance, with the help promised by the French King."

It does not appear that this declaration was ever put before the public, or that these instructions were ever

required. This arose from the French King ultimately refusing to give the help without which the Chevalier could not go forward. The Chevalier was most active and persistent in trying to secure help from Louis XIV., but Louis became rather sceptic, and did not believe that the Scots would put the Chevalier on the throne even if he sent over an army of 30,000 men. The French Government, however, in 1708 agreed to assist, and resolved to send an expedition from Dunkirk, but its destination was withheld. The Chevalier at once informed his friends in Scotland of this expedition, requested them to prepare for an insurrection, and he named Charles Fleming, brother of the Earl of Wigtown, as his representative. Fleming received similar instructions to those of Colonel Hooke. The Stuart Papers inform us that the Chevalier sailed from Dunkirk in company with an expedition on 17th March, but evidently the commander had orders from the French King not to land in Scotland. It is said that if they had landed the Scots would have supported the Chevalier. The fleet, after cruising about for some time, returned to Dunkirk on 7th April to the great disappointment of the Chevalier and his supporters. His restless mind caused him to send Charles Farquharson, a special messenger, to Scotland, and on 25th April following, he was instructed to assure the Scottish people that far from being discouraged with what had happened, they were resolved to move heaven and earth and leave no stone unturned to free themselves. "We propose to come ourselves to the Highlands with money, arms and ammunition, and to put ourselves at the head of our subjects if they are in arms for us, and if not we exhort them to rise with all convenient speed on the expectation of our arrival, which we intend shall be as soon as possible. The most Christian King has promised his support to this undertaking with a sufficient number of troops as soon as they can be transported with security. We desire that all means be used to get possession of the fort of

Inverlochy, and that they would name the fittest place in the Highlands for our landing." The Chevalier appears to have had great hopes at this time that his next attempt would be more successful, and he began to exercise some acts of sovereignty, such as appointing an Engraver-General of the Mint in Scotland. It is recorded in 1709 that the violent Jacobites complained without reason that they were deserted by the Prince whom they called to the throne. On his return the French King listened with attention to his representations, but plainly told him that he was far from being in a condition to invade the territories of his enemies; he was afraid he could not defend his own.[1]

In 1709 the friendly relations between the Queen and the Duchess of Marlborough, which for some time were rather strained, gradually got more acute. Lady Marlborough was a clever, fearless, and ambitious woman, and evidently the Queen, in administering the crown, could not put up with her overbearing disposition. She interfered with the duties of the State, and by doing so made herself distasteful to the Queen. The following incident illustrates the situation:—Lady Marlborough applied to the Queen for a suite of apartments in Somerset House for a gentlewoman and her family left destitute. The Queen said: "I have a great many servants of my own, and some of them I must remove." The Duchess smiled and said: "Your Majesty, then, does not reckon Lord Marlborough and me among your servants; some of my friends have pressed me to wait oftener on your Majesty. I have been compelled in vindication of my conduct to relate the usage I have received from your Majesty, and for this reason I have been under the necessity of repeating and asserting the truth of what I said, before they could be induced to believe it; and I believe it will be thought still more strange were I to repeat this conversation, and inform them that after all Lord Marlborough's services you refuse to give him a miserable hole to

[1] Stuart Papers.

make a clear entry to his lodging. I beg, therefore, to know whether I am at liberty to repeat this to any of my friends." The Queen replied in the affirmative, and the Duchess on leaving said: "I hope your Majesty will reflect on all that has passed." The Queen rose to quit the room, but the Duchess intercepted her, and rushing between the Queen and the only means of egress, set her back to the door, and informed her Royal mistress that she should hear her out, for that was the last favour she owed her for having set the crown on her head, and for having kept it there. The Duchess then scolded for an hour before any symptoms were apparent to the Queen of the hurricane abating. At last she concluded "she did not care if she never saw Her Majesty again." The Queen calmly responded: "She thought indeed the seldomer the better;" on which the Duchess flounced out of the Royal presence.[1]

The Queen, on receipt of the news of Marlborough's victory at Malplaquet, 11th September, 1709, was forced to make another public procession to St. Paul's—her eyes red with weeping, and her heart appalled with the carnage of 2,000 of her subjects, who lay dead in the Malplaquet trenches. The British and Dutch troops under Marlborough defeated the French under Marshal Villiers. The loss on each side was 2,000, but some historians put the number much higher. Marlborough, in return for his services, desired to be made Captain-General of the British forces for life, but Parliament rejected the proposal.

The friendly and confidential relations existing between the Queen and Marlborough, notwithstanding Lady Marlborough's conduct, will be gathered from the following letter written by her;—

WINDSOR, 20*th October*, 1709.

The illness in my eyes has hindered me so long from writing to you that I have now four of your letters to answer, which I shall do in their order. The first is

[1] Strickland.

upon a matter of very great consequence, which in a little time will be put in another form, and of which I do not doubt but that you have had an account from others. As yet I can give you none, not having heard what propositions are to be made to me on that subject, and I must own to you I am in a good deal of uneasiness to find in three conversations I have had with the Lord Treasurer, since he came from Newmarket, he has not mentioned the Admiralty to me, fearing by that he intends to offer people he thinks will be disagreeable to me, and therefore, out of good nature, defers it as long as possible. Whoever he proposes for this office, it is a thing of great consequence to the public, and particularly to myself, so that I must consider it very well before I come to any resolution. . . . I am very willing to comply with yours of the 16th concerning the Duke of Argyll, thinking his behaviour in this campaign deserves it; but I desire you will not say anything about it to him till I see you, for a reason that is not proper to trust in a letter, but which I am sure you will think reasonable when you know it. Your letter of the 10th requires a longer and more particular answer than I have now time to give it, but I shall take the first opportunity to tell you my thoughts very freely on what you say. I return you my thanks for yours of the 26th, which brought me the good news of the surrender of Mars, for which I congratulate you with all my heart, nobody, I am sure, doing it more sincerely than your humble servant, ANNE R.

On 5th November, 1709, sermons were preached by Dr. Sacheverel on the anniversary of the Gunpowder Plot, before the Lord Mayor of London and before the Assizes at Derby. The sermons not only inculcated passive obedience and the divine right of kings, attacked the Revolution settlement and the Act of Toleration, reflected on the memory of King William, and asserted that the Church was in danger from the misconduct of

Her Majesty's ministers, but abused several of them individually, specially Godolphin. If they had allowed these sermons to pass unnoticed, they would have fallen into oblivion, but they were printed, and 40,000 copies sold. Godolphin called a meeting of the Cabinet and proposed to impeach Sacheverel.

A court was prepared in Westminster Hall for the trial exactly according to the arrangement of the House of Lords, with seats for peers in their order of precedence. A box was erected near the throne for the Queen, who witnessed the trial *incognita*. On one side of the hall couches were erected for the members of the House of Commons, and on the other side for peeresses and gentlewomen; a stage with benches below the bar was prepared for the prisoner and his counsel, while opposite to the scene were galleries for the public. Ladies were there in great crowds, and not one who could get admission stayed away.

There was great excitement over the country, and Sacheverel was in many places the hero of the hour because of his plain speaking. Early in January, 1710, he was tried before the Lords, and at the close of the trial Lord Chancellor Cowper, in delivering judgment, said:—"Their lordships had resolved that by the law of Parliament, which is part of the law of the land, in prosecutions by impeachment for high crimes and misdemeanours, the particular words supposed to be criminal are not necessary to be expressly specified in the articles of impeachment. The High Court do adjudge that you, Henry Sacheverel, Doctor of Divinity, shall be, and you are hereby enjoined not to preach, during the term of three years next coming. The two printed sermons to be burned before the Royal Exchange between the hours of one and two o'clock, on 27th March, 1710, by the hands of the common hangman, in presence of the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of London."

On this judgment the historian (Campbell), comments: "O! most lame and impotent conclusion!" When the

sentence expired, Sacheverel held forth for the first time in his own pulpit, St. Saviour's, Southwark, when he took for his text the words: "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." The Queen, attended by some of her ladies, witnessed this trial in Westminster Hall. It was the custom in these days for ladies-in-waiting to stand around the chair of their mistress on such occasions. Lady Marlborough writes that, after she and the other ladies had stood two hours: "I went up to the Queen, saying I believed Her Majesty had forgot to order us to sit, as was customary in such cases." The Queen replied, in a very kind, easy manner: "By all means, pray sit;" and called on her page to get stools. Lady Hyde, when she found how the Duchess proceeded, went and stood behind the Royal chair, and there remained the whole time the Queen stayed. The strained relations between the Queen and Lady Marlborough grew worse in place of better. The Queen eventually desired her to communicate with her in writing only.

On Good Friday, 1710, the Duchess, who would not comply with the request, wrote asking permission to visit the Queen at Kensington. Without waiting for a reply she on the same day went out to Kensington. The Queen had just dined, and no one being in waiting to announce her, the Duchess asked the page of the back stairs if he did not occasionally make a signal at the Queen's door to advise her when any person was to be introduced. The page replying in the affirmative, she asked him to make the usual sign, and sat down in the window like a Scotch lady with a petition expecting an answer. After a long interval she was admitted. On her entrance the Queen showed some embarrassment and said: "I was just going to write to you," and as the Duchess was preparing to speak, interrupted her by observing: "Whatever you have to say, you may put it in writing." The Duchess remonstrated against such treatment, and urged the justice of hearing her reply to the calumnies with which she had been assailed.

"There are those about your Majesty who have charged me with saying things of which I am no more capable than I am of killing my own children; for I seldom mention your Majesty in company, and then always with due respect." The Queen contemptuously turned aside and retorted: "There are many lies told." The Duchess proceeded: "I am confident your Majesty would not treat me with such harshness if you could believe that my only wish is to do myself justice, and not ask a favour." The Queen moved towards the door, exclaiming: "I will quit the room." The Duchess followed, and burst into tears, but the Queen observed: "You said you desired no answer, and I shall give you none." The Duchess, however, continued her vindication with warmth. The Queen heard her sullenly for some minutes, and responded: "I shall make no answer to anything you say." Notwithstanding this the Duchess asked: "Will your Majesty then make me some answer at any other time?" but she received the same reply. Perceiving it fruitless to persist, the Duchess made her obeisance and exclaimed with indignation: "I am confident you will suffer in this world or the next for so much inhumanity." The Queen was roused to anger, and exclaiming "That is my business!" withdrew to her closet. The Duchess sat down to compose herself, after which she went to the closet and scratched at the door, and when the Queen opened it, said: "As I sat in the gallery I thought your Majesty would not care to see me when you come to Windsor. Should that be so, I will refrain from going to the Lodge that I may not be charged with a want of respect for omitting to pay my duty to your Majesty when living so near." To this the Queen quickly replied, as if anxious to be freed from her visitor: "You may, if you please, come to me at the Castle; it will give me no uneasiness." So ended this memorable conversation, and from that moment all personal intercourse was at an end between them.[1]

[1] Coxe's Life of Marlborough.

The Queen, on 13th April, taking advantage of the prorogation of Parliament, sent for Kent, the Lord Chamberlain, and requested him to deliver up his staff of office, promising him a dukedom, and she conferred the vacant office on Shrewsbury, and announced his promotion to the Treasurer:—

St. James's, 13*th April.*

I am sorry to find by your letter that you are so very much in the spleen as to think that you cannot, in the future, contribute anything towards my quiet but your wishes; however, I will still hope you will use your endeavours, for by all one sees and hears every day one can expect nothing but confusion. I am sure, for my part, I will be ready to join with all my friends in everything that is reasonable to allay the heat and ferment that is in this poor nation. Since you went to Newmarket I have received several assurances from Shrewsbury of his readiness to serve me on all occasions, which offer I was very willing to accept, having a very good opinion of him, and believing he may be of great use in these troublous times. For these reasons I have resolved to part with the Earl of Kent, who, I hope, will be easy in this matter, being made a duke. And I hope this change will meet with your approbation. I have not yet declared my intentions of giving the staff and key to Shrewsbury because I would be the first to acquaint you with it.

Godolphin should not have tamely submitted to this affront. He should have instantly quitted a situation in which he could not serve his country with satisfaction, or advantage to the public; he displayed the natural indecision of his character. He remonstrated with the Queen on the inconsistency of her conduct in suffering herself to be directed by a private ministry while she withheld her confidence from her official servants, and dwelt on the ruin and destruction which such conduct would draw on herself and on the kingdom: he

anticipated a dissolution of that Parliament which had served her with so much zeal and fidelity. "What consequence," he said, "can all this possibly have but to make every man who is now in your Cabinet, except Somerset, run from it as they would from the plague, and I leave it to your Majesty to judge what effect this entire change of your ministers will have among your allies abroad who will like any peace the better the more it leaves France at liberty to take their time of imposing the Pretender on this country." Notwithstanding this remonstrance Godolphin continued in office. After a lapse of two months he received the following letter from the Queen:—

I can say no more than what I did in my last, continuing of the same opinion, only I have no thought of taking Marlborough from the head of the army, nor, I daresay, anybody else. If he and you should do so wrong a thing at any time as to desert my service, what confusion might happen would lie at your door, and you alone would be answerable. But I hope you will both consider better of it. Yesterday I ordered Lord Sunderland (Marlborough's son-in-law) to give up the seals of office, which I think proper to acquaint you of before you hear it from other sources, and to let you know that Lord Dartmouth is the person I intend to give them to, whom I hope you will approve of.

Godolphin believed that the resignation of Marlborough would be attended with inevitable destruction, and employed his influence with his colleagues to prevent it. The result was that a memorial was sent by the ministry to Marlborough asking him to continue at the head of the army. Godolphin, as might be supposed, was much dissatisfied with the Queen's conduct in dismissing and appointing ministers without consulting her Cabinet or Parliament. A few weeks after the date of this letter he had an interview with her, when he pointed out the mischievous consequences of her action

and her want of confidence in her ministers. He submitted for her decision whether he should continue in office. "Is it," he said, "the wish of your Majesty that I should go on?" She replied: "Yes," and with this Godolphin was satisfied and left her. Next morning he was surprised to receive the following letter:—

KENSINGTON, *7th August*, 1710.

The uneasiness which you have shown for some time has given me very much trouble, though I have borne it; had your behaviour continued the same as it was formerly I could have had no difficulty what to do. But the many unkind returns I have lately received, especially what you said to me personally before the lords, makes it impossible for me to continue you any longer in my service. But I will give you a pension of £4,000 a year, and I desire that instead of bringing the staff to me, you will break it, which, I believe, will be easier for us both.

A new ministry came into power, and one of the first things they did was to stop the supplies for the erection of Blenheim Palace. They instructed Marlborough to issue his own orders for the completion of the edifice, and requested the workmen to apply to him for payment of their wages. Marlborough refused to do anything, but he asked the architect what sum would be required to finish the building, which at that date was half erected. It is recorded[1] that the total cost was £287,000. It is said that these able and unscrupulous men exerted themselves to undo all that had been done by their predecessors. The fruits of the war were abandoned, and the allies of England betrayed by the unwise Treaty of Utrecht. Harley corresponded with St. Germains and Flanders. St. John plotted with Mrs. Masham and the Queen to procure the crown for the Pretender, on the ostensible condition of his becoming a Protestant.

[1] Coxe.

In September, 1710, when the Queen was in Council, with the Lord Chancellor Cowper on her right hand and Somers on her left, a scene took place of a rather singular character. The Queen called on Sir Simon Harcourt, the Attorney-General, to produce a proclamation she had ordered him to prepare for dissolving Parliament. When it had been read, the Lord Chancellor rose up to address her, with the intention of dissuading her from such a step. But the Queen at once stopped him, saying "she had considered the matter well, and would admit of no debate, and that the writs for a new Parliament must immediately be issued." She then signed the proclamation. Then she declared her uncle, the Earl of Rochester, President of the Council in room of Somers. A similar transfer was made of almost all the great offices of State. Somers felt this conduct of the Queen as a gross insult, and resolved to give her and her Tory ministers unqualified opposition from his place in Parliament. He was still considered the chief counsellor of the Whigs, but he was relentlessly assailed in Parliament and libelled by the Tory press in a manner to make public men of the present day rejoice that they did not live in the reign of Queen Anne.[1] On 22nd September the Queen had an interview with Lord Chancellor Cowper, who brought with him the Great Seal, with the view of surrendering it. She made him take it back five times after he had laid down the bag containing it, and she added: "I beg it as a favour, if I may use the expression." Cowper said: "I cannot carry it out of the palace unless your Majesty will receive it to-morrow." To this the Queen agreed. Next day Cowper called, and not having changed his mind, he on his bended knees gave the Queen the Seal, which she finally accepted, and afterwards bestowed it on Harcourt.[2]

[1] Lord Campbell.

[2] "In October, 1710, Harley presented me to his son-in-law, Viscount Dupplin, George Henry Hay, eldest son of the Earl of Kinnoull; also his own son, and Will Penn, the Quaker, and we sat two hours drinking wine."—(Swift's Letters to Stella.)

The third Parliament of Great Britain met on 25th November—Mr Bromley, M.P. for Oxford University, being chosen Speaker of the Commons. The Queen addressed both Houses. She recommended the vigorous prosecution of the war, particularly in Spain, for which she asked the necessary supplies. She expressed great concern for the heavy debts of the Navy, and an earnest desire that proper measures might be devised for discharging them, and preventing the like mismanagement in future. She professed her resolution to support the Church of England, to preserve the union, and to employ none in her service but such as were hearty for the Protestant succession.

On account of the extension of the malt-tax in Scotland and other supposed grievances, a cry was got up there for the repeal of the union. A meeting was held at Somers's house, which was attended by the discontented Scots. After a long deliberation he strongly urged that a motion on the subject should be made in the House of Lords, where his influence was great. By his advice the Earl of Findlater moved "that leave be given to bring in a bill for dissolving the union, for restoring each kingdom to its power, rights and privileges, for effectually securing Her Majesty in her Royal power and authority over both kingdoms, and for asserting and confirming all her Royal prerogatives, and effectually securing the succession in the Protestant line in the illustrious House of Hanover as the same stands limited and secured." The motion was seconded by the Earl of Mar; Somers, who was present, took no part in the debate. The Duke of Argyll spoke warmly in support of the motion, and declared it to be his opinion that in the interests of both England and Scotland the union should be dissolved. All the Whigs took the same side. The Government proposed the previous question, but were beaten. A division then took place on the main question—of the peers present there was an equal number on both sides—54 to 54, but proxies being

called there were only 13 for the motion and 17 against it, so the union stood by the small majority of 4. Somers appears afterwards to have been almost entirely disabled from attending to public affairs till the close of Queen Anne's reign. He was constantly consulted by the Hanoverian minister respecting the means of securing the quiet succession of the House of Hanover. In conjunction with Sunderland, Cowper and Parker he gave minute instructions as to all the steps to be taken on the expected demise of the Crown. On the report that the Queen's recovery was hopeless, he repaired to Kensington Palace, and concurred in the arrangement that the Herald-at-Arms and a troop of Life-guards should be in readiness to proclaim the Elector of Hanover, King of Great Britain, and that a messenger be sent desiring him to repair to Holland, where a British squadron would bring him over to take possession of the throne.

Marlborough who, after Godolphin's dismissal, had little or no influence at Court, came home, but not finally, and on 7th January, 1711, had an audience of the Queen, when he presented her with a letter from the Duchess:—"Though I never thought of troubling your Majesty again, yet the circumstances Lord Marlborough is in, and the apprehension I have that he may not live six months if there is not soon an end put to his sufferings, make it impossible for me to resist doing everything in my power to ease him. I am ready to promise anything that you think reasonable, and as I know but two things in my whole life that ever I did that was disagreeable to you, I do solemnly protest that as long as I have the honour to continue your servant I will never mention either of them to you, or do anything that can give you the least uneasiness. . . ." The Queen coolly receiving this letter, for a considerable time refused to open it. At the desire of the Duke she at last read it, and having done so, said: "I cannot change my resolution." Marlborough besought her not to renounce the Duchess till she had no more need of

his services, which he hoped would be the case in less than a year, by the termination of the war, when both might retire together. He dwelt on all the topics likely to recover her affection towards his wife, and her gratitude towards himself. He apologised for any mistakes his wife had ever committed, concluding: "Your Majesty, for your own sake as well as for ours, ought not to adopt a harsher proceeding than any prince ever used towards persons of less faithful and long-continued services, who had been guilty of greater faults, when pardon was requested, and a firm promise of amendment made. Still more would it reflect on your generosity to deny so trifling an indulgence to one who has been honoured by your friendship, and who has given no substantial cause for so harsh a proceeding." The Queen, far from listening to his representations, peremptorily insisted that the gold key of office should be delivered to her within three days. On this the Duke threw himself on his knees, and earnestly requested an interval of ten days to concert some means of rendering the blow less mortifying and disgraceful. But he obtained no other answer than a repetition of the demand, limiting the time to two days. He then changed the subject for one of politics, but she abruptly broke off the conversation, exclaiming: "I will talk of no other business till I have the key." He then took his leave full of indignation and sorrow.[1] On reaching home he told his wife she must surrender the Queen's Insignia, but she refused to do so. He insisted on her returning the gold keys, which she did reluctantly by throwing them at him. He returned them to the Queen, who received them with greater pleasure than if he had brought her the spoils of an enemy.[2] The vacant offices of Mistress of the Robes and Groom of the Stole were given to Mrs. Masham.

In the spring of 1711 Parliament passed the Toleration Act for the protection of Episcopacy. The Tories were in power, and they were favourable to the Jacobites.

[1] Coxe's Life of Marlborough. [2] Strickland.

This was followed by the Act for the restoration of Church Patronage, which gave considerable offence in Scotland. To allay this feeling, the Queen at the next General Assembly declared: "Lest any late occurrence should have possessed any of you with fears and jealousies, we take this solemn occasion to assure you it is our firm purpose to maintain the Church of Scotland as established by law; and whatever ease is given to those who differ from you in points not essential, we will protect you from all insults, and redress your complaints." The clergy were split into three sections; one, the majority, submitted to take the oath of Abjuration, another refused to do so, a third wished the oath to be matter of forbearance between the Government and the clergy. The chief clause was as follows:—"I do solemnly and sincerely declare that I do believe in my conscience that the person pretending to be the Prince of Wales during the life of the late King James, and since his decease, pretended to be, and taking upon himself the style and title of King of England by the name of James III., or of Scotland by the name of James VIII., hath not any right or title whatsoever to the crown of the realm." The majority of the Scottish Episcopalians could not subscribe this declaration without abandoning their Jacobite aims or committing perjury.[1]

The Marquis de Guiscard, who was banished from his own country for his criminal conduct, lived in great poverty in London. He dabbled in politics, calumniated the Whigs, and eventually persuaded St. John to get the Queen's consent to give him a pension of £500 per annum. When it came to Harley, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he restricted it to £400. This offended Guiscard, and he resolved to make his peace with France and send them information as to what was going on in London. Lord Portmore having discovered his treachery, a warrant was issued for his apprehension. During his examination at the Cockpit

[1] Taylor.

he at first firmly denied his guilt, but was confronted by the production of one of his own intercepted letters, and an order was made to convey him to Newgate. Roused to fury by this discovery, he resisted the messenger to whose custody he was delivered, and rushed forward with the intention of stabbing St. John. Unable to reach him he suddenly turned round on Harley and stabbed him on the breast. The penknife breaking on the bone, he repeated the blow, when he was attacked by St. John and other members of the Cabinet, with their drawn swords. St. John, seeing Harley fall, made several thrusts at Guiscard, who, bleeding with his wounds, was carried to Newgate, where he was afterwards executed.[1] Harley received the hearty congratulations of the House of Commons in his narrow escape.

[1] "We have let Guiscard be burned at last. After showing him pickled in a trough for twopence apiece, and the fellow that showed would point to his body: 'See, gentlemen, this is the wound that was given by the Duke of Ormond; and this is the wound that was given by Albemarle, and then the show was over.'"—(Swift).

Note.—The Earl of Rochester, the Queen's uncle, was carried off by an apoplectic fit, 2nd May, 1711. "Rochester dead!" exclaimed Louis XIV. "Then there is not a man of probity and counsel equal to him left in the world." Buckingham succeeded him as President of the Council.

CHAPTER XV.

Letter, the Chevalier to the Queen—Queen consults Buckingham —Letter from the Electress Sophia—Dismissal of Marlborough —Creation of twelve new Peers — Death and funeral of Marlborough—Letter, Chevalier to the Queen—Queen's last Speech in Parliament—Memorial from Electress and her Son—Queen's reply to Memorial—Death of the Electress Sophia—Letter to the Queen from Elector George—Proclamation for arrest of James VIII.—Quarrels in the Cabinet—Oxford dismissed for intoxication—The Queen's Illness and Death—Address of condolence by the Commons—Character and reign of Queen Anne—Death of the Chevalier and Prince Charles Edward.

REIGN OF QUEEN ANNE.

A.D. 1702—1714.

THE reign of Queen Anne was now gradually drawing to a close, and her brother, the Pretender, was becoming daily more impatient about his prospects. He now wrote his views on the succession directly to Queen Anne, under date May, 1711 (condensed) :—

The natural affection I bear you, and that the King our father had for you till his last breath ; the consideration of our mutual interest, honour and safety, and the duty I owe to God and my country are the motives that persuade me to write you, and do all that is possible for me to come to a perfect union with you. You may be assured, madam, that though I can never abandon but with my life my own just right, which you know is unalterably settled by the fundamental laws of the land, yet I am most desirous rather to owe to you, than to anyone living, the receiving of it. . . . I am satisfied that if you will be guided by your own inclination, you will readily comply with so just and fair a

proposal as to prefer your own brother, the last male of our name, to the Electress of Hanover, the remotest relation we have, whose friendship you have no reason to rely on, and who will leave the government to foreigners. It is my unalterable resolution to make the law of the land the rule of my government, to protect every man's right, liberty and property equally with the rights of the Crown, to maintain the rights of the Church of England, and to grant such toleration to dissenters as Parliament shall think fit. . . . I have made the first step towards our mutual happiness with a true brotherly affection, and as you tender your own honour and happiness, the preservation and re-establishment of our ancient Royal family, the safety and welfare of a brave people who have no reason to complain of me, and whom I must still, and do, love as my own, I conjure you to meet me in this friendly way of compassing our difference, by which only we can hope for those good effects which will make us both happy, yourself more glorious than all the other parts of your life, and your memory dear to all posterity.

A correspondence between the Queen and her brother, the Chevalier, was carried on in 1711 under the auspices of Buckingham. The Chevalier wrote a letter entreating the Queen to send an efficient agent to negotiate an accommodation between them. After reading the letter, the Queen said to Buckingham, and her words are both judicious and important: "How can I serve him, my lord? You know that a Papist cannot wear this crown. Why has the example of the father no weight with the son? He prefers his religious errors to the throne of a great kingdom; he must thank himself, therefore, for his exclusion. He knows that I love my own family better than any other; all would be easy if he would enter the pale of the Church of England. Advise him to change his religion, my lord, as that only can change the opinion of mankind in his favour." Buckingham communicated these observations to the

Chevalier, who replied as follows: "I know my grandfather, Charles I., and my father too had always a high opinion of the principles of the Church of England relating to monarchy; and experience sufficiently shows that the crown was never struck at but she also felt the blow; and though some of her chief professors have deviated, we must not measure the principles of that Church by the actions of some individuals. Plain dealing is best in all things, especially in matters of religion; and as I am resolved never to dissemble in religion, so I shall never tempt others to do so; and as long as I am satisfied of the truth of my own religion, I shall never look the worse upon others because they choose to differ from me, nor shall I refuse, in due time and place, to hear what they have to say on the subject. But they must not take it ill if I use the same liberty that I allow to others, to adhere to the religion that in conscience I think the best. I may reasonably expect that liberty of conscience for myself which I deny to none."[1]

If either the young Prince or Princess of the House of Stuart would have renounced their religion, the House of Hanover would not have opposed their claims to the throne. A letter of the Princess Sophia confirms this. The Pretender foresaw that the King of France would be obliged by the Treaty of Peace to dismiss him from his dominions, and he presented the following queries to the French minister, De Torcy:— "Who is to provide for my maintenance? How much is it to be, and how shall it be paid? What treatment shall I receive, and by whose means is all this to be concerted? If a Protestant country, shall I and my family be allowed the free exercise of my religion, as without that I cannot go there? Having a security only in the place where I am to reside, can I leave it, as otherwise I shall be a prisoner in that country? For what purpose is all this demanded of me? How long is it to continue, and what advantage shall arise

[1] Macpherson's Stuart Papers, vol. i.

to me?—it being neither just nor reasonable to distrust me in my own affairs. How shall correspondence be settled with me in the country where I reside, and what measures shall be taken, in the case of my sister's death, to secure to me what, according to all the laws which have been made, must then belong to Hanover?"

In the Chevalier's circumstances these inquiries were natural. He was at this date in his twenty-fifth year, and was well aware of the obstacles which stood between him and the throne. He had it in his power to remove these, yet he absolutely declined to do so.

If Queen Anne ever cherished either hopes or intentions of making her unfortunate brother her successor, they perished when the Duke of Hamilton was slain on 15th November, 1712, in Hyde Park, with Lord Mohun and two others. There was a tradition that a secret agreement was made between the Chevalier's mother and the Duke of Hamilton, that Arran, his son and heir, was to marry the Princess Louise, youngest daughter of James VII., and sister to Queen Anne, but the young Princess died prematurely.

This year the Duchess of Gordon sent a silver medal to the Dean of Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh, with a head on one side and the words *cujus est*, and on the other side the British Isles and the word *reddite*. At next meeting of advocates a debate ensued about the propriety of accepting the medal, but by sixty-three votes to twelve it was admitted, and thanks ordered to be returned to the Duchess for her present. Two of the advocates waited on the Duchess and expressed a hope that she would soon have an opportunity to compliment the Faculty with a second medal, on the restoration of the King (James VIII.). Feeling was running too high to allow this to pass unnoticed. The advocates called a special meeting, said they had rejected the offer of the medal, and ordered it to be delivered to the Lord Advocate. They solemnly declared their loyal affection to Her Majesty and

their zeal for the Protestant succession. This was published in the *Edinburgh Gazette.*

Queen Anne ratified her consent to enter into preliminaries of peace at Windsor Castle on the 8th October, 1711. At supper same day she said she had agreed to treat with France; and she did not doubt that in a little time she would be able to announce that which she had so long desired, a general peace over Europe.

In November the Queen sent a request to the Electress Sophia to assist her in promoting the peace of Europe. With this the Electress was gratified. The Queen sent a present to her god-daughter, the Princess Anne of Hanover, eldest daughter of the hereditary Prince, afterwards George II. The Queen and the Electress always treated and spoke of their unfortunate kinsman, James Stuart, as the legitimate son of the elder Royal line, giving him full time to make up his mind, whether he persisted in his repudiation of the creed of the Church of England and adhered to the profession of the Roman Catholic faith, in which case only the Hanover family meant to accept the English crown; but James declined to move. From a letter of the Electress Sophia to the Earl of Strafford we get the opinion of Her Royal Highness regarding Marlborough: —"The favourable sentiments which you say the Whigs entertain towards me have had no effect. Therefore I am obliged to them only for their good intention, and as I know none of them but you, I also believe it is to you alone I owe thanks. The good-natured Lord Rivers told me he clearly perceived I was of the Duke of Marlborough's party. I answered that if the Queen had made an ape her general, and that he had gained so many battles and towns, I would be equally for him; and I see you have forgotten how little I was obliged to his wife. As to himself, he never spoke to me of anything that had any concern with the advantages of this House. His expression in speaking of the Queen was always that she was a very good sort of a woman.

He repeated this frequently, and it appeared to us too low a commendation for so great a Princess. I can only assure you that I have always the same sentiments which you know me to have had."[1]

The second session of Parliament was opened on 7th December, 1711. The Queen, in opening the assembly, said that notwithstanding the arts of those who delighted in war, the place and time for opening a treaty for a general peace were appointed; that she looked on the interest of the allies as inseparable from her own; that they had expressed their entire confidence in her, and that she would do her utmost to procure satisfaction from them. She promised to make the Protestant religion and the liberties of the nation her principal concern, and to use her endeavour after the war to have the trade of her subjects improved, and for these ends she recommended early provision for the campaign. Charges of speculation and falsified accounts were got up against Marlborough, and the report of them was eventually published by order of the House of Commons.

Most of the measures introduced related to the prosecution of the late ministers of the Crown, and to the censure of the measures which they had directed. Walpole, the late Secretary, was expelled the House, and sent to the Tower for having corruptly taken money on the contracts for foraging the troops. Marlborough was accused of having received large sums of money every year as gratuity from contractors of bread to the army, and of having received two and a half per cent. out of the pay of foreign troops in English service, for having allowed his secretary 500 ducats on every contract, and the deputy-paymaster one per cent. on sums paid to contractors. Marlborough stated that the premium received from contractors had been formally allowed as a perquisite to the chief commander in Holland; that the reduction from the pay of the foreign troops was by Her Majesty's warrant;

[1] Stuart Papers.

and that emoluments arising from both had been expended on the public service in procuring secret intelligence which had contributed essentially to the success of the war. These explanations did not satisfy the House of Commons, and Marlborough was ordered to be prosecuted, and dismissed from all his offices. The gratuities from contractors were calculated at the large sum of £63,319, and the two and a half per cent at the large sum of £460,000. We have no means of verifying these figures, but they are supposed to be accurate. Marlborough immediately went to the Continent to reside, and the matter appears to have dropped.[1] The Queen and the Lord Treasurer at this date were no longer friends of Marlborough, and to that in some measure he owes his fall.[2]

At a Cabinet Council on 31st December the Queen confirmed the dismissal of Marlborough from all his offices in view of the information laid before Parliament. On the day of his fall the simultaneous creation of twelve peers was announced, by which the coalition majority was hopelessly undone.[3]

Queens' pockets from the days of Elizabeth to Anne were mysterious repositories. "I never was so surprised," says Lord Dartmouth, "as when the Queen drew a list of twelve lords out of her pocket, and ordered me to bring warrants for them, there never having been the least intimation previously. I asked her if she proposed to have them all made at once. She

[1] Somerville. [2] Swift.

[3] There were nine new lords and three peers' sons, viz. :—James, Lord Compton, eldest son of the Earl of Northampton ; Charles P. Bruce, eldest son of the Earl of Aylesbury ; Henry Paget, heir of Lord Paget ; George Hay, Viscount Dupplin, son-in-law of the Lord Treasurer, created Baron Hay of Kinnoull ; Viscount Windsor as Baron Mountjoy ; Sir Thomas Mansell as Baron Mansell ; Sir Thomas Willoughby as Baron Middleton ; Sir Thomas Trevor, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, as Baron Trevor ; George Granville as Baron Lansdowne ; Samuel Masham as Baron Masham ; Thomas Folly as Baron Folly ; Arran Bathurst as Baron Bathurst.

answered by inquiring if I took exception to the legality of the measure. "No," I said; "only as to its expediency." She said she had made fewer lords than any of her predecessors, adding: "You see, my lord, that Marlborough and the Whigs do all they can to distress me; therefore I must do what I can to help myself." Three peers' eldest sons were called to the House of Lords by this extraordinary creation; nine Commoners made up the twelve peerages, whose portentous appearance out of Her Majesty's pocket had startled Lord Dartmouth.

Godolphin died poor. The Queen said: "I am sorry that he has suffered in my service, since he was not poor at the Revolution, when he brought me 20,000 guineas, and entreated me to take care of them, which I did for some time after."

Marlborough was struck down with apoplexy in June, 1722, in the seventy-second year of his age, when his body was embalmed and conveyed to Marlborough House. The historian of the time says the funeral exhibited a display of military parade and regal pomp which has been seldom paralleled. The procession was headed by bands of military with a detachment of artillery. Amidst long files of heralds, officers-at-arms, mourners and assistants, the eye was caught by the banners emblazoned with his armorial achievements, among which was displayed on a lance the standard of Woodstock, showing the arms of France on the Cross of St. George. In the centre of the procession was an open car containing the coffin, surmounted with a suit of complete armour, and lying under a gorgeous canopy, adorned with plumes, military trophies, and heraldic achievements. To the sides shields were fixed with representations of the battles he had gained and the towns he had conquered. On either side were five captains bearing a series of bannerols with the different quarterings of the Churchill and Jennings families. The Duke of Montague (son-in-law) was chief mourner, and was supported by the Earls of Sunderland and

Godolphin (sons-in-law), and eight dukes and two earls.

The funeral service was conducted in the Chapel of Henry VII. by the Dean of Westminster, and the body was deposited there; but some time after was removed to Blenheim Palace, where a magnificent mausoleum was erected for its reception. The Duchess lived until 1744, when she died at the age of eighty-four years. Their issue was four daughters. After Marlborough's death the Duke of Somerset was anxious to marry the Duchess. She not only declined a connection so unsuitable at her age, but declared "that if she were only thirty she would not permit even the Emperor of the World to succeed in that heart which had been devoted to John, Duke of Marlborough." She left a fortune of £3,000,000 sterling. Her only son predeceased her, but she left daughters through whom the title descended. Marlborough held many offices, and from the Public Accounts of the time he appears to have been in receipt of the following annual allowances:—Plenipotentiary to the State, £7,000; General of the English forces, £5,000; General in Flanders, £5,000; Master of Ordnance, £3,000; Colonel of Footguards, £2,000; General of the troops in the United Provinces, £10,000; travelling expenses, £1,825; pension, £5,000; for keeping his table, £1,000; from foreign troops in English pay, 2½ per cent. commission, £15,000; total, £54,825. The emoluments of the Duchess were:—Groom of the Stole, £3,000; Keeper of the Home Parks, £1,500; Mistress of the Robes, £1,500; Privy purse, £1,500; pension from the Privy purse, £2,000; total, £9,500. After the victory of Blenheim the States General of Holland gave Marlborough £50,000, and the English Government gave each of his daughters £5,000.

James Stuart wrote Queen Anne, under date 28th March, 1712:—

In the present situation of affairs it is impossible

for me to be any longer silent, and not to put you in mind of the honour and preservation of your family, and to assure you of my eternal acknowledgment and gratitude if you use your most efficacious endeavours towards both. Give me leave to say that your own good-nature makes me already promise it to myself, and with that persuasion I shall always be ready to agree to whatever you shall think most convenient to my interest, which, after all, is inseparable from yours; being fully resolved to make use of no other means but those you judge most conducive to our mutual happiness and the general welfare of our country.—Your affectionate brother,

JAMES.

The clergy of the Church of Scotland were of all ministers those who prayed most fervently for the House of Hanover. The Toleration Act provided that the clergy of the Established and Episcopal Churches should, during the service, pray in express words for her most sacred Majesty, Queen Anne, and the most excellent Princess Sophia. To the former this was a gratuitous wound on a most sensitive point; to the latter it was a test of loyalty to the House of Hanover. The Whigs insisted on the clauses as they affected the Episcopalians for the purpose of compelling Harley's ministry to subject the Jacobites to a strict Hanoverian test. At the opening of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, in 1712, the Queen, in her official letter, said: "Lest any late occurrence should have possessed any of you with fears and jealousies, we take this solemn occasion to assure you that it is our firm purpose to maintain the Church of Scotland; and whatever ease is given to those who differ from you on points that are not essential, we will employ our utmost care to protect you from all insults, and redress your just complaints."

In 1712 an act was passed on the recommendation of the Queen for the building of fifteen new churches in

THE CHEVALIER JAMES VIII.

James Francis Edward Stuart.

(*National Gallery.*)

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London, the cost of which to be defrayed from part of the duty on coals hitherto devoted to Wren's reconstruction of St. Paul's. The Queen's message was brought into the House by St. John, while Harley was recovering from the violent attack of Guiscard.[1] The Queen's health at this time was unsatisfactory. Besides suffering from gout, she had an attack of ague induced by her agitation about public business. Though the Jacobites had been informed that she could not live long, she was able, on 9th April, at the meeting of Parliament, after the conclusion of peace, to be carried to the House of Lords, where she read her speech very well, but a little weaker in voice than formerly.[2] She did not as yet communicate the terms of the treaty to Parliament, but she spoke of her effort to secure the Protestant succession, which meant the House of Hanover. She continued to administer the duties of the throne, more especially interesting herself in ecclesiastical appointments. But though she interested herself in the Church and State as before, it was known that her bodily condition was becoming more and more infirm, so that during the last two years of her life the state of her health caused much alarm. On account of the scandalous libels and pamphlets of all sorts printed and circulated at this period (March, 1712), the House of Commons resolved that all printing presses be registered with the name of the owners and places of abode, and that the author, printer and publisher of every book attach his name thereto.[3]

On 6th June the Queen, in a longer and more

[1] Lutterell, vol. ii. [2] Swift.

[3] Specimen of the libels :

Blest revolution which creates
Divided hearts, United States.

William and Mary, George and Anne—
Four such children never had man!
They turned their father out of door,
And called their brother son of a w——.[4]

[4] Macpherson, vol. ii.; Mahon's England.

laboured speech to Parliament than usual, imparted the substance of certain preliminaries which were to form the basis of a general peace with France. After touching on the difficulties which occurred, she dwelt on the measures adopted for securing the Protestant succession in the House of Hanover, as the object nearest to her heart, and stated that additional security had been given to this provision by the removal of that person out of the dominions of France who had pretended to disturb this settlement. She then adverted to that article, which she incorrectly characterised as containing the grand principle of the alliance, viz., the separation of the crowns of France and Spain, for accomplishing which she was most urgent.[1]

Though the attachment of the Earl of Oxford to the Protestant succession had embarrassed the intrigues of the Jacobites throughout the year 1712, the most fatal stroke to their cause was the death of the Duke of Hamilton, who was killed in a duel in Hyde Park on 15th November, as he was setting out to France as an Ambassador Extraordinary. The secret object of his embassy, the Jacobites affirmed, was to obtain the Irish regiments in the French service to be conveyed with the Chevalier in a clandestine manner to Scotland. The Queen herself, doubtless eager for the eventual succession of her brother, is said to have approved of this scheme. Her object was to enter into a treaty with the Chevalier on his arrival; by which she was to permit him to remain in Scotland, during her own life, under the character of presumptive heir of the crown. (This statement we are unable to verify.) His friends in Parliament were so numerous that she had no doubt of being able to repeal the act of settlement. These measures were prevented by the Duke's death.

On 9th January, 1713, the Queen prorogued Parliament, and delivered her speech well, though weaker in voice. The order for the address passed by a majority of thirty-three, and Parliament rose. On 11th January,

[1] Coxe.

the Lord Treasurer showed a small portrait of the Queen, enamelled work set in gold, which the Queen had given to Lady Marlborough, set in diamonds. When her ladyship was leaving England, she took off the diamonds and gave the portrait to Mrs. Higgins, asking her to make the best of it. The Lord Treasurer gave Mrs. Higgins £100 for it. Is Lady Marlborough not a detestable slut?[1] The Queen appointed Lord Shrewsbury as her ambassador to France to ratify the Treaty of Peace. The execution of the treaty took place at Utrecht on 30th March, 1713. England was represented by the bishop of Bristol and Lord Halifax. The French ambassador, the Duc d'Aumont, immediately arrived in London, and had an audience of the Queen. He presented her with nine beautiful grey Flemish horses, with which he had made his entry into London. Louis XIV. sent her six splendid dresses, and 2,500 bottles of champagne, on the treaty being signed. This treaty was not regarded with favour in Scotland. It consisted of thirty articles: it ceded Newfoundland and adjacent islands to Great Britain, secured the Protestant succession to the throne, so far as France was concerned, and the perpetual separation of the crowns of France and Spain; secured permanent peace between France and England, and between France and Portugal, Sweden, Savoy, Tuscany, Genoa, and the Hans Towns.

Another session of Parliament was opened by the Queen on 9th April, 1713. She said from the assurances they had given her last session she had been enabled to overcome all obstructions to a general peace. She observed that the length of the negotiations had afforded the allies sufficient opportunity of adjusting their interests; and what she had done for the Protestant succession, and the friendship subsisting between her and the House of Hanover, might convince all who wished well to both how impossible it was to divide them. On 30th April the Duke of Atholl was appointed

[1] Swift.

Lord Privy Seal, and on 5th May peace was proclaimed in London. On 9th June the debate on the treaty of commerce of France began in the Commons, and by a small majority this effort in the direction of Free Trade was thrown out. The Queen sent a message to the Commons concerning a debt that had accumulated above the Civil List expenditure. A bill enabling her to raise £500,000 for the discharge of this was joined with another money bill and passed into law. About this time two addresses were carried in the Lords requesting the Queen to intervene for the removal of the Pretender from Lorraine, to which she returned evasive answers. When a similar address was carried in the Commons she promised to use her endeavours.[1] On 16th July, at the prorogation of this Parliament the Queen thanked both Houses for the good services they had done the public, and acknowledged particular obligation to the Commons for their affection and duty to her, and their regard for the interests of the country, by which they had shown themselves true representatives of a loyal people. As this Parliament was not to meet again these expressions were understood as an earnest, though indirect recommendation, from the Queen to the electors in behalf of the same members and such as adhered to their principles.[2]

On Christmas Day the Queen was seized with a violent attack of fever, which left her for some time unconscious. A panic ensued, which was repeated when, after recovery, relapses followed. The new Parliament was opened by commission, 16th February, 1714. On the 2nd March, the day after the proclamation of peace with Spain, the Queen went to the House of Lords, carried in a chair, and addressed Parliament. She expressed much satisfaction in being able to announce the ratification of the peace and commerce of

[1] Burnet, vol. vi.

[2] Mar had been gratuitously alienated from the English Government by the refusal of George I. to receive the Highland addresses at his hands, when the new monarch arrived at Greenwich.

Spain. . . . She congratulated her subjects on being delivered from a consuming war, and entering on peace, the good effects of which nothing but intestine divisions could obstruct. The general joy expressed upon her recovering from her late indisposition, she considered as a grateful return for the tenderness and affection which she always had for her people; she wished that effectual care had been taken to suppress seditious papers and factious rumours, by which all designing persons had succeeded in depressing public credit. She spoke with warmth on the malicious intentions of those who insinuated that the Protestant succession was in danger under her government; and said she hoped they would all agree with her that any attempts to weaken her authority and render the possession of the crown uneasy to her could never be the proper means of strengthening the Protestant interest. . . . She desired Parliament to assist her in obtaining such fruits from the peace as might render it a blessing to the present age and posterity. On 31st March, in reply to an address from the House of Lords on the subject of the Catalans, the Queen said: "My lords, I heartily thank you for the address, and the satisfaction you express for the endeavours I have used for securing the Catalans their just liberties. At the time I concluded my peace with Spain I resolved to continue my interposition upon every other proper occasion for obtaining these liberties, and to prevent, if possible, the misfortunes to which that people are exposed by the conduct of those more nearly concerned to help them."[1] There is a communication at this period amongst the Stuart Papers which is of a rather startling character. It is stated to be from Robethon, the Elector's representative in England, to Yorke, the secretary of the embassy, and is dated 21st March, 1713:—"The affairs of the Prince of Wales (James Stuart) clear up from day to day. It appears that abandoning his religion for his interest he is resolved to be of the Church of England. He left all the Roman

[1] Mahon's England.

Catholics with the Queen, his mother, at St. Germains. None but Protestants are about him at Bar except Lord Middleton, who turned Roman Catholic in France from mere policy. He is a man of merit, and of all those who followed King James he is the only one whose desertion gave uneasiness to the Government. The address of the city of Perth has no doubt been sent to you; it is the more remarkable that the deputies who brought it to London were presented by Lord Oxford." This letter of Robethon is inconsistent with the memorial of 4th May of the Electress Sophia, in which she recommended the Queen to order the Chevalier's removal to Italy. That meant he was still a Catholic. The Electress had no wish whatever to supersede him if he became Protestant, and she repeatedly said so. This letter, therefore, of Robethon so carefully preserved among the Stuart Papers would require confirmation before it can be accepted as a historical document, and meanwhile it may be put aside. This was followed by the Memorial to Queen Anne from the Electress and her son, dated 7th May, 1714:—

Their Electoral Highnesses received, with the utmost gratitude, the fresh mark of kindness which the Queen gave them when she ordered Harley to ask them what they wanted to be done for the greater security of the Protestant succession established in their family, and also their obliging assurances that Her Majesty would have a pleasure in granting whatever they desired. It is in reliance on this that their Highnesses take the liberty of representing the necessity of obliging the Pretender to remove to Italy, and the danger which may result from his staying longer in Lorraine, both to Her Majesty's kingdom, to her Royal person, and the Protestant succession. It is impossible to be more obliged to Her Majesty than their Highnesses are for the instances which she hath been already pleased to make for the Chevalier's removal. And as the present

Parliament, as well as the former, have shown they are persuaded that the security of the nation and of the succession is connected with it, which is likewise the opinion of their Highnesses, they entreat Her Majesty to take effectual measures for attaining such a salutary end; and the more so as the Pretender's adherents publish with the utmost assurance that he is preparing to make a descent on Scotland while the kingdom is unfurnished with a fleet and with troops, which is confirmed by different advices received from persons who have lately been at Bar-le-Duc, and have a share of the Pretender's confidence, and who affirm that he will begin very soon to execute his enterprise, and that he depends upon powerful foreign assistance. Affairs being in such a dangerous state their Highnesses hope that Her Majesty will admit with them that it is necessary for the security of her Royal person, and for that of her kingdom and of the Protestant religion, to settle in Great Britain someone of the Electoral family, who would give attention to such important concerns and show Her Majesty, by a fidelity and an inviolable attachment to her person, how much their Highnesses are filled with respect and gratitude towards her. Their Highnesses likewise take the liberty of renewing the instances they made nearly two years ago to Her Majesty and her ministers for asking that such a pension and establishment should be settled by act of Parliament on the Electress, as the nearest heir to the crown usually enjoys. Their Highnesses did not choose to form any pretensions in this respect while the nation was burdened with the expenses of the war; but these expenses being discontinued, and as everything ought to be put upon a sure and solid footing by the peace, they hope that during this session of Parliament Her Majesty will be so good as procure them a thing which is so just, and which is but a natural consequence of all that she hath done already in their favour. They trust Her Majesty will be pleased to grant titles belonging to the Princes of the

Blood Royal of Great Britain to such of the Protestant Princes of the Electoral family as are not yet invested with them.

Queen Anne's views on the subject were expressed in her letters to the Electress of 10th May, in the following terms:—"As the rumour increases that my cousin, the Electoral Prince, has resolved to come over to settle in my lifetime in my dominions, I do not choose to delay a moment to write you and communicate my sentiments on a subject of this importance. I freely own to you that I cannot imagine that a Prince who possesses the knowledge and penetration of your Highness can ever contribute to such an attempt; and that I believe you are too just to allow that any infringements shall be made on my sovereignty which you would not choose should be made on your own. I am firmly persuaded that you would not suffer the smallest diminution of your authority; I am no less delicate in that respect, and I am determined to oppose a project so contrary to my Royal authority, however fatal the consequences. Your Highness is too just to refuse to bear me witness that I gave on all occasions proof of my desire that your family should succeed to my crown; which I always recommended to my people as the most solid support of their religion and laws. I employ all my attention that nothing should efface these impressions from the hearts of my subjects; but it is not possible to derogate from the dignity and prerogatives of the Prince who wears the crown without making a dangerous breach on the rights of the successors. Therefore I doubt not but, with your usual wisdom, you will prevent the taking of such a step, and that you will give me an opportunity of renewing to you assurances of the most sincere friendship, with which I am, etc."

The Queen's perpetual vacillations in case her brother should come to England, and her terror lest George of Hanover, or his eldest son, should come to her Court

to claim his place as her heir and successor, caused her intentions to oscillate from side to side before every gale that blew. On 9th May, 1714, she wrote the Electress Sophia:—"Since the right of succession to my kingdom has been declared to belong to you and your family, there have always been disaffected persons who have entered into measures to fix a prince of your blood in my dominions, even whilst I am yet living. . . . There are here a great many people who are seditiously disposed, so I leave you to judge what tumults they may be able to raise if they should have a pretext to begin a commotion. I persuade myself, therefore, you will never consent that the least thing should be done that may disturb the repose of one of my subjects. . . . Propose whatever you may think may contribute to the security of the succession. I will come into it with zeal, provided that it do not derogate from my dignity, which I am resolved to maintain."[1] At this period a dispute about the succession was one day carried on for hours in the Queen's presence, between the Earl of Oxford and Mrs. Masham, which terminated in the Queen demanding Oxford's immediate resignation. It is said the excitement brought on the attack of apoplexy, of which the Queen died. Queen Anne, on 30th May, wrote the memorable letter to the Electress Sophia and the Electoral Prince, accompanied by a third from the Earl of Oxford to the Elector, which left no room for doubt as to the Queen's mind being made up on the subject.[2]

On 10th June the Electress Sophia of Hanover died, in the eighty-third year of her age. This was the anniversary of the birth of the Pretender. It is said that she and Queen Anne were unfriendly at the date of her death. The Electress used to say she would die happy if she could only live to have "Here lies Sophia, Queen of England," engraved on her coffin. She died within a few weeks of having her wish

[1] Strickland.

[2] For these letters *see* Boyes, 699 and 700.

fulfilled. She was the daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James VI.

The correspondence was continued by the Electoral Prince, who, under date 15th June, 1714, wrote the Queen as follows:—"I received the letter with which your Majesty honoured me of the 30th May, the contents of which both surprised and gave me uneasiness. I had flattered myself I had given the most convincing proof of my respect for your Royal person and gratitude for your kindness. Your Majesty cannot be ignorant that I always relied with the utmost confidence on the wisdom of your government, without taking the smallest concern in factions, far from being capable of encouraging them, and that I always wished your authority and your Royal prerogative might be maintained in all their lustre; no one, after your Majesty, having more interest therein than I and my family. It is so essential to me to cultivate the honour of your good graces, that it is natural to imagine the presence of one of the Princes of my family in your kingdom could never have any other design than to confirm a good understanding between the two Courts and to render your Majesty all possible service. If you will be so good as to take the trouble of looking to the memorial which I ordered to be delivered to Harley, you will see there with what sincerity I desire to act with your Majesty, whatever may be necessary to confirm the succession established by law. I entreat you to pay it the attention which such important interests deserve, and to be persuaded that nothing shall ever be capable of altering the respect with which I am, etc."

One day in the middle of June, at a meeting of the Privy Council, the Queen said she had resolved on a proclamation, which she caused to be read, and immediately went out before her council could make any comment. This proclamation offered a reward of £5,000 for the apprehension of the Chevalier, dead or alive, if he were found in Great Britain or Ireland.

This document was evidently drawn up by herself, as her two principal ministers, Oxford and Bolingbroke, knew nothing about it. The Queen meantime witnessed privately the discussion in Parliament, in her curtained box. Her presence did much towards causing temperate discussion. William III. spent much of his time there; his entrances were always noted in the journals of the House of Lords. Queen Anne almost lived in the House of Lords while in session, latterly witnessing a debate within three weeks of her death. More than once it happened that the name of her brother was introduced by some Jacobite member in his speech; on which stormy discussions arose. Sometimes the observations were so personal that the Queen would draw down the curtains of her box to conceal her confusion. Parliament was prorogued on 7th July by the Queen; she spoke to both Houses briskly and resolutely, telling them that she was determined to call them together before it was long. She thanked the Lords and Commons for the supplies they had given her for the current year, and for discharging the national obligations. Her chief concern was to preserve to them and their posterity their holy religion, the liberty of her subjects, and to secure the tranquillity of the kingdom; but these desirable ends could never be obtained unless jealousies were laid aside, and they paid the same regard to her prerogative which she had always showed for the rights of the people. She then prorogued Parliament to 10th August, 1714, omitting all reference to the House of Hanover. After the dissolution of Parliament the discord of the Cabinet increased, and became violent. Oxford, the Lord Treasurer, and Bolingbroke, the Lord Secretary, strove to deprive each other of the good opinion of the Queen, and each of them grew more tenacious of his place from the desire of mortifying the other. Oxford is reported to have been dismissed for intoxication.

A Cabinet Council was called for 27th July at nine o'clock p.m., and it sat till two o'clock next morning,

wrangling over the question, Who was to be Oxford's successor? The scene was terminated by the violent agitation of the Queen, who fainted from utter exhaustion, and had to be carried to bed.[1] On 28th July the Council again met at Kensington, and was again broken up by the Queen fainting, and was adjourned to 29th July. The Queen declared to her physician that her indisposition was occasioned by the trouble of mind which the disputes of her ministers gave her, adding: "I shall never survive it." When the hour appointed on 29th July drew near, Mrs. Danvers, one of the ladies of the household, entering the presence chamber, saw, to her surprise, the Queen standing before the clock and gazing at it. She spoke to the Queen, but received no answer. The Queen turned her eyes on the questioner with a ghastly look. Assistance was summoned, and the Queen was carried to bed, and never rose again. It is said that the prospect of a third stormy meeting brought on the illness. She took a burning fever, during the night at intervals calling out, "The Pretender." Next morning the surgeon took ten ounces of blood from her arm, which gave her temporary relief. She was also suffering from apoplexy. Lord Bolingbroke, with unspeakable bad taste, went into her bedchamber, and told her that the Council had resolved to recommend Shrewsbury in Oxford's place. She at once consented, but Shrewsbury declined to accept office unless the Queen herself placed it in his hands. Shrewsbury went to her bedside, and she gave him the White Staff, with the words: "For God's sake, use it for the good of my people."

The Bishop of London was in attendance in case he should be required. The lethargy continued till seven o'clock in the morning of 1st August, when she expired. The immediate cause of death seems to have been suppressed gout, ending in erysipelas, which produced abscess and fever. After her death an inspection of her body was made by Dr. Thomas Lawrence, whose report is preserved.[2]

[1] Strickland. [2] *See* Treasury Papers.

Queen Anne, at her death, was in the fiftieth year of her age and thirteenth of her reign. The event was officially announced to the Elector of Hanover, and he was immediately afterwards proclaimed King as George I. The Queen's death was universally regretted throughout the kingdom. She was beloved both by clergy and people, notwithstanding their political differences, and her memory was cherished with no little affection long after her death. In personal appearance the Queen had grown very stout and unwieldy. According to Lady Marlborough (before the quarrel), Queen Anne had a person and appearance very graceful ; something of majesty in her look ; she was religious without affectation, and certainly meant to do everything that was just. She treated the chief ladies of her household on terms of equality with herself. In the matter of charity, she never refused it, it is said, in deserving cases. It is said, and doubtless with truth, that her maladies proceeded from plethora, or fulness of blood. She ate and drank too freely, and had too little exercise. On 24th August she was interred in a vault on the south side of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey, which already contained her husband and children. Her will, unfortunately, having been left unsigned, created great inconvenience in her household, and it is alleged that in the succeeding reign there was great difficulty in meeting the claims which had been bequeathed by her.

The House of Lords having assembled conform to the act requiring Parliament to meet on the demise of the Crown, the Chancellor on 5th August, the Commons being summoned to the Bar, said :—" It having pleased Almighty God to take to Himself our late most gracious Queen of blessed memory, we hope that nothing has been omitted affecting the safety of the realm, and the preservation of our religious laws and liberties. As these invaluable blessings have been secured to us by these acts of Parliament, we have settled the succession of the crown on the House of Hanover, we have

regulated our proceedings by the prescribed rules. . . . We are persuaded you will bring with you so hearty a disposition for His Majesty's service and the public good, that we cannot doubt of your assistance in everything which may promote these great ends. We forbear laying before you anything that does not require your immediate consideration, and not having received His Majesty's pleasure. We shall therefore only exhort you with earnestness to a perfect unanimity, and a firm adherence to our sovereign's interest as being the only means to continue among us our present happy tranquillity."[1]

The children of Queen Anne and Prince George of Denmark were—Mary, Anne Sophia, William, Mary, who all died in infancy, and William, Duke of Gloucester, who died at the age of eleven years. Queen Anne had several still-born children.

We now draw to the close of the Royal House of Stuart as the reigning dynasty. Queen Anne, the last of the Stuart sovereigns, was a good queen, though not entitled to the appellation "Great." When she ascended the throne she found a peaceful kingdom, improved both in its civilisation and in its political life by the Prince of Orange. That was of vital importance to her. She had but to assume the reins of government, and in a wise and discreet manner administer the Crown. She was not wanting in decision of character, but her many good qualities were occasionally marred by that inflexible obstinacy which permeated the very blood of the Stuarts. When she became obstinate, argument with her was in vain. Coupled with this, according to a modern writer,[2] there was a peculiar dulness of intellect which made her at times incapable of distinguishing between the binding form of moral principles, and the alternative of having her own way. There was one notable feature in her administration: she governed her ministers, and never allowed one of them to have the upper-hand. How

[1] Campbell's Lives. [2] Coxe.

HENRY STUART.
Cardinal Duke of York. Son of the Chevalier.

(*From the Collection in Newbattle Abbey.*)

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far that was advantageous to the realm is a highly debatable question. She uniformly exercised her own independent judgment, and held the reins of government with a firm grasp. The opinions of historians of Queen Anne do not differ on any essential point. She was governed by high moral principles, and when left to herself, with no irritating surroundings, she manifested a temperate, wise and discreet judgment. She interfered with nobody's religion, and always showed a desire to govern peaceably. Her rule sometimes evinced a narrow and selfish spirit, and on these occasions her mind, once made up, her unwise decision was unalterable, in spite of any argument to the contrary. This was well illustrated on one occasion in her arbitrary creation of twelve peers without consulting her ministers, in order that she might have a majority in Parliament. She never showed great administrative capacity, but she made a point of opening and closing Parliament in person, and on these occasions she discharged her duty well, and was listened to with the greatest respect, in the few simple observations she had to offer. Her reign was full of important events, the most outstanding being the union of England and Scotland into one kingdom. The scheme was a legacy bequeathed to her by the Prince of Orange, and she entered into it with all her heart, and made it the object of her life to carry through. Her effusive treatment of Marlborough after the battle of Blenheim is a remarkable proof of the extent to which her foolish impulse would at times carry her. The parting with Woodstock, and the erecting of Blenheim Palace at the public expense, costing the large sum of £240,000, was a foolish and injudicious act, which cannot be defended. In this she was supported by the Tories or Jacobites in Parliament, but it will be noticed that when the Whigs came into power, they at once put a stop to this reckless proceeding, so far as they could, and ordered Marlborough to finish the palace himself. Queen Anne's reign was beneficial to the nation, while her

Court, like that of Queen Mary, her sister, was unimpeachable. Her personal tastes show little or nothing of that love of the fine arts which had characterised some of the Stuarts. She took no interest in the theatre except to check its immoralities, and she never visited the public play-house, although plays seem now and then to have been performed at Court. Rymer's "Fœdera" was published by her order at her own expense, a huge work of many ponderous volumes; and she gave the compiler, we understand, an annual grant of £100. Early in her reign Verrio finished his famous frescoes at Hampton Court. For music she cared little. Her predilections were rather in the line of open-air amusements, such as hunting. Swift refers to her famous chaise arranged so as to fit only the portly figure of the Queen, and drawn only by one horse, which she drove herself, and drove furiously, following the stag-hunt in Windsor Forest. Queen Anne is described by Smollett as of the middle size, well proportioned, hair dark brown, complexion ruddy, her person more comely than majestic. She suffered from weakness in the eyes, to which she referred in her letters to Marlborough. It may easily be supposed that however strong might have been her Jacobite predilections, she found it necessary to conceal them discreetly; and this was necessary, as in her mind they were so frequently struggling with conscientious fears on the Church question. Lockhart of Carnwath, having brought up an address from the county of Edinburgh, was told on one occasion by the Queen that she did not doubt his affection to her person, and hoped that he would not concur in any design to bring over the Elector of Hanover during her lifetime. "I told her," says Lockhart, "that she might judge from the address I had read that I should not be acceptable to my constituents if I consented to bring over any of that family either now or hereafter." The Queen smiled, and when Lockhart withdrew she said to the Duke of Hamilton

she believed Lockhart was an honest man and a fair dealer.[1] She had the good fortune to be surrounded by some highly capable ministers. It has been said that the administration of Godolphin, her Prime Minister, shows forth with peculiar lustre in our annals, no preceding ministry having comprised so many great men or achieved so many great actions. Her ministry could boast of the mild yet lofty wisdom of Somers, the matured intellect of Halifax, and the rising abilities of Walpole. Again, the most subtle statesmen and the most accomplished speakers of that age, Harley and St. John, were included in its ranks. But the treachery of those ministers, who secretly kept up a treasonable correspondence, with the Seals of office in their hands and professions of loyalty on their lips, cannot be passed over. Among these had been Admiral Russell, Lord Danby, Shrewsbury, Godolphin and Marlborough. Marlborough's conduct with the Stuarts is a foul blot on his illustrious name.[2] He had from early life been attached to James II., yet he quitted that monarch at the very hour when fortune was turning upon him, and under all the circumstances that could add a sting to perfidy.

Shortly before the death of the Queen, Bolingbroke attempted to form a Jacobite ministry, but the succession of George I. put an end to the scheme, and because of it Bolingbroke was deposed from office, and fled to France. To what extent these men were guilty of peculation we have no means of knowing accurately. They appear to have been under no control, and to have exercised their prerogative with unlimited freedom. Their Royal mistress was a good-natured, easy-minded woman; in financial matters, and evidently in that department, she never interfered. It was but natural that many of her subjects should wish to continue the rule of her ancient and Royal House, and put her brother, the Pretender, on the throne; but this would have been rebellion against the Act of Settlement of

[1] Mahon's England. [2] Mahon's England.

the succession, specially as the Pretender was a Roman Catholic; and therefore the supporters of the House of Hanover prevailed, and George I. was placed on the throne of the United Kingdom, as the first King of a new dynasty, in succession to the Stuarts. It was a great misfortune that Queen Anne's children all died young, especially the Duke of Gloucester; his death was keenly felt by the nation, and by the Prince of Orange, whom he would have succeeded. The Royal line of James II. would be perpetuated by his two grandsons, and if it were extinct, there were still the descendants of Henrietta, daughter of Charles I.; and there were the descendants of the elder children of the Queen of Bohemia (daughter of James VI.), before the Electress Sophia of Hanover or her family could have any claim. Accordingly, various pamphlets were published to support the Stuarts and the invalidity of the Act of Settlement. One of these advocated, in the boldest and most explicit terms, the cause of the Pretender; and when the indignation of the Whigs and the clamours of the press had caused a prosecution against the publisher of it, Government interfered and remitted the sentence. There is no direct evidence to show how far the Queen concurred in these views. She would not listen to the proposal that her brother should come to England, on an understanding that she should sit on the throne during her life, and that he should succeed her. But there seems no reason to doubt that, entertaining the greatest abhorrence of the Hanover family, she would have been pleased with any plans to ensure his succession which were consistent with the continuance of her own rule and conform to the Act of Settlement. In answer to an address from the House of Lords, who were alarmed at the situation, and begged her to issue a proclamation against the Pretender, she said: "I do not at this time see any occasion for such a proclamation. Whenever I judge it necessary, I shall give orders for having one issued."

CHARLES EDWARD STUART.

(Prince Charlie.) Son of the Chevalier James VIII.

(*From the Collection in Newbattle Abbey.*)

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And so the last of the Stuart sovereigns passed away, and the House of Hanover came on the scene. It seems at this date, 200 years after the event, very mysterious why some of the other members of the House of Stuart did not come forward and assert their rights. There were, as already stated, more descendants than the Chevalier, but they were evidently Catholics, and being so, were disqualified. There were, for example, descendants of James VI. Why some of them did not assume the Protestant faith, and come to the front, must remain a mystery. The House of Hanover was not, and never was, popular in England; but the Stuarts, so far as history bears upon the question, allowed them to "walk over." Finally, it may be said that the House of Stuart lost the crown, and passed away into obscurity, because of its persistent adherence to the Catholic faith, notwithstanding the Act of Settlement which declared it to be a disqualification. It cannot be said that the Scottish people, even after the administration of Charles II. and James II., were satisfied with this act. A large proportion of them, in the Highlands, were warmly attached to the House of Stuart, and to this day the feeling is not eradicated. They would have nothing to do with the House of Hanover, and in the risings of 1715 and 1745, they testified with their blood their loyalty to the Stuarts, until they were crushed, mainly by quarrels among themselves, at the disastrous battle of Culloden, when the Stuart cause sank to rise no more.

James Francis Edward, the Chevalier, after a long period of ill-health and misfortune, died in the Roman Palace of the Santi Apostoli, Rome, on New Year's Day, 1766, in the seventy-eighth year of his age. A modern writer[1] says he was Duke of Cornwall and Duke of Rothesay by right of his birth, and Prince of Wales by virtue of creation from his father. Failings, of course, James had in plenty,

[1] Herbert Vaughan's Last of the Stuarts.

yet he appears to have been more enlightened and liberal in his religious views than his father before him. For years, in spite of strong domestic opposition, he had placed implicit confidence in Lord Dunbar, whilst at one time he had insisted in maintaining in the homeland Protestant chaplains who were even permitted to invite English visitors in Rome to attend their services in the Stuart Palace. In his latter years he fell under the Cardinal Duke, his son, who was naturally inclined to lay more stress on the religious aspect of the Stuart cause. Yet all James's letters breathe a spirit of common-sense and of toleration that are strongly at variance with the opinion commonly held of him. Though stubborn and obtuse, James was eminently pious, generous, and honourable, and carried out with tact and dignity the difficult position of an exiled King. After his death the Chevalier's body lay for five days in state in the chapel of the Stuart Palace, Rome, whence it was removed to the church of Santi Apostoli. The body, vested in Royal robes and ornaments, was exposed on a bed of purple silk fringed with gold, above which was suspended an immense canopy supporting four angels with crowns and sceptres. These details were carried out under the superintendence of his son, the Cardinal Duke of York. The body was removed to its last resting-place in St. Peter's, the bier being escorted through the streets by a Papal guard of honour, and by 500 English, Scots and Irish students bearing torches. His wife, the Princess Clementina, had predeceased him by thirty-one years.

So utterly broken in mind and body had the young Chevalier become, that after two years of life in Rome it was easy for all to recognise the certain summons of death in an acute attack of paralysis with which he was seized early in the year 1788. Frequently during the month of January did the Cardinal Duke visit the grief-stricken household in the palace of the Santi Apostoli, where his brother lay in a semi-comatose state, and where his daughter was nursing the invalid with unwearied

PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD.

The Glenaladale Portrait by Rigaud : from the private Collection of Cluny at Cluny Castle.

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AFTER CULLODEN: PRINCE CHARLIE'S FAREWELL.

(From the Painting by J. B. Macdonald, R.S.A., in the possession of Mr. Guthrie Lornie, of Birnam.)

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devotion. On 30th January he passed away at the age of sixty-seven years, worn out by the fitful fever of a life such as few persons in the world's history have experienced. The body of Charles Edward was embalmed and placed in a coffin of sweet-scented cypress wood, with the crown on his head, ring on his finger, and sceptre in his hand, after which it lay in state for a short time in the private chapel of the Palace before being conveyed to the Cathedral of Frascati. Here there was a funeral service attended by an immense crowd; and at the end of the service the body of the Prince (with the exception of the heart, that had already been placed in a silver urn), was enclosed in a temporary vault, there to remain till his brother, the Cardinal's death, when it was arranged that it should be removed to the crypt of St. Peter's to lie finally with the ashes of his kindred. On his tomb was the following epitaph :—

The ashes of Prince Charles Edward
Rest in this peaceful place;
Son of King James of England,
Heir of a Royal race.
An exile from throne and country
You ask what guerdon he hath?
Disloyalty to his subjects,
But loyalty to his faith.

Considering the disgraceful persecutions which Protestants were subjected to by the last two Stuart kings, and the massacres of innocent people which characterised the reigns of both these tyrannical rulers, it became a matter of urgent necessity that the Parliament of the United Kingdom should by legislative action protect the people from the possibility of a recurrence of these outrages. This could only be done by ordaining the Catholic faith to be a disqualification to the future succession to the crown. The Chevalier was stubborn on this point, and would not listen to Queen Anne's request that he should become a

Protestant and succeed her, a mistake he lived to regret. It must, however, be said for him that he did not know the extent to which his father and his uncle's persecutions had gone, nor had he any idea of the massacres that had taken place. He did not, so far as recorded, take any steps to inform himself about this, nor did he ever consult the Scottish nobles, who should have communicated to him information of vital importance. It was, therefore, in ignorance of the circumstances that he lost the throne, and after the accession of George I. his claims were lost for ever. The Chevalier, from what we know of him, was a man of high character, manifesting none of the objectionable features of his father or uncle, while in comparison with George I., his qualifications were in every respect superior. The Stuart dynasty, therefore, came to an end, not from want of lawful or capable issue, but because its continuation as a Catholic power had become inimical to the peace of the realm, and inconsistent with the Great Charter of the liberties of the people.

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